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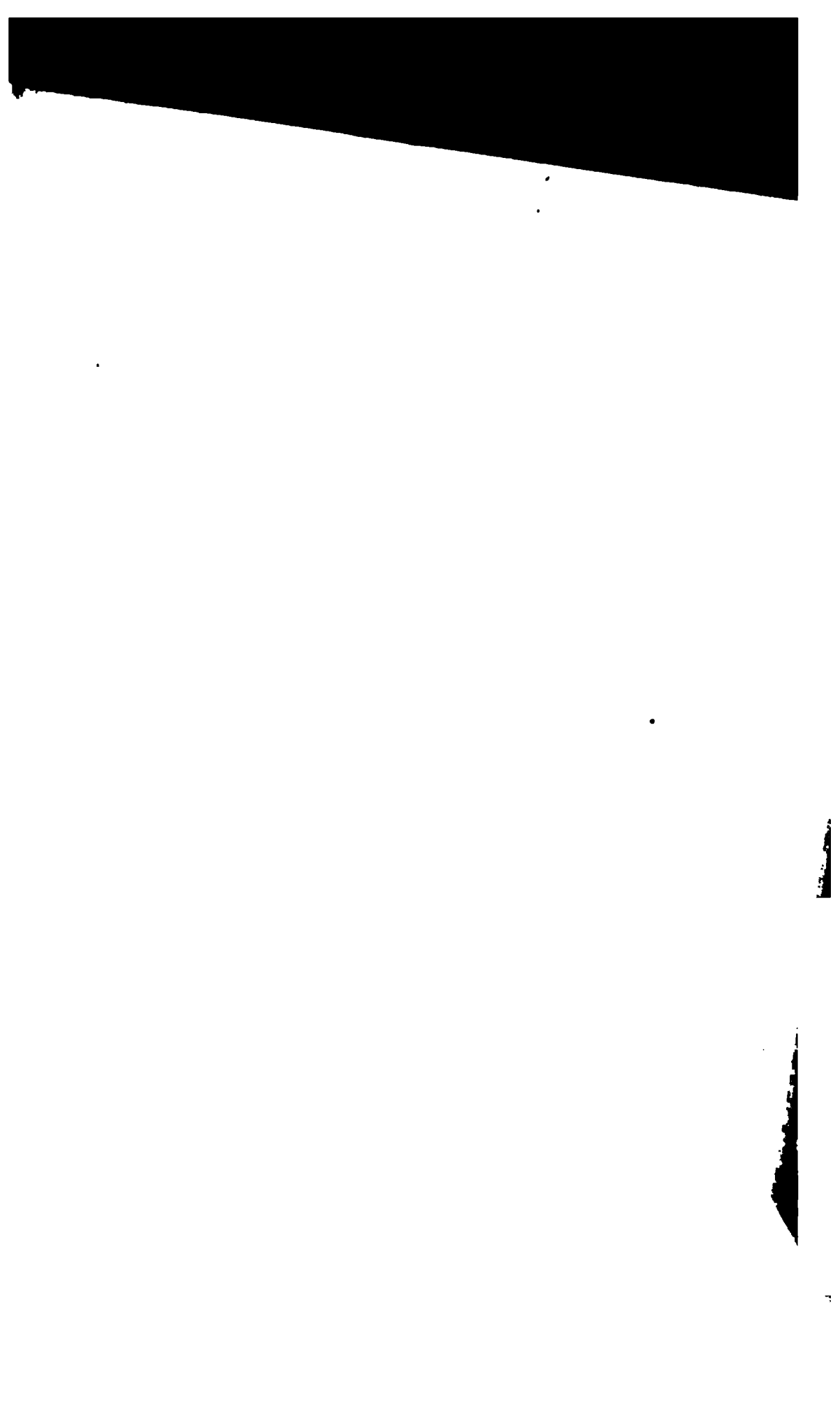




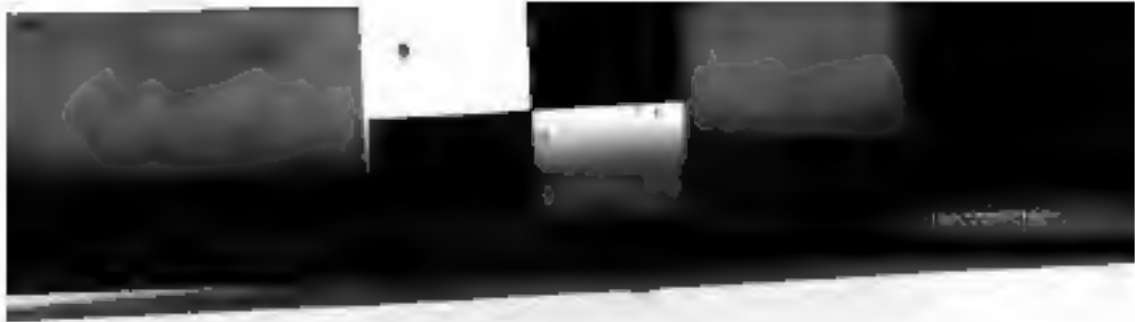
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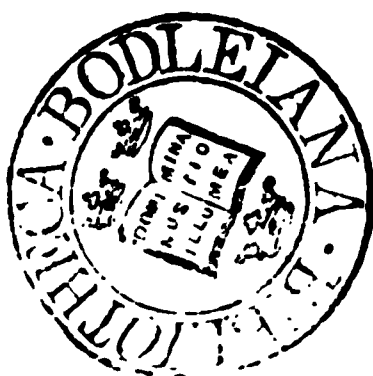
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**THE**  
**HISTORY**  
**OF THE**  
**RISE, INCREASE, AND PROGRESS,**  
**OF THE SOCIETY OF**  
**FRIENDS :**

**INTERMIXED WITH SEVERAL**  
**REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES.**

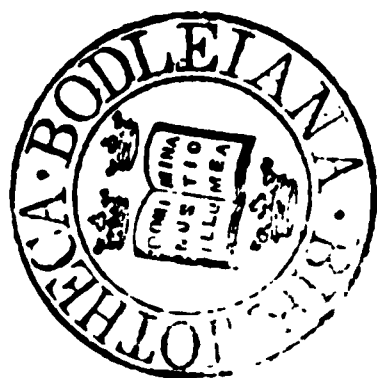
**WRITTEN ORIGINALLY IN LOW-DUTCH**

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**BY WILLIAM SEWEL.**

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**PART IV.**



THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
RISE AND PROGRESS  
OF THE  
SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

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THE TENTH BOOK.

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The year 1677 was scarce begun, when G. Fox, though the roads were yet covered with snow, travelled again. After he had passed many places, and preached in the meetings of his friends, he came to York, and going from thence to Nottingham, went to the house of John Reckless, who was sheriff there when G. Fox preached the first time in that town, and was imprisoned on that account: but he taking G. Fox into his house, had been so reached by what he spoke, that he embraced the doctrine he held forth, and never departed from the profession thereof. From hence G. Fox passed through Leicestershire, Derbyshire, Warwickshire, Buckinghamshire, and Bedfordshire, where he met with William Dewsbury.

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... the world.

1677.

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

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a mere moral man can reach at; the true inward graces are yet wanting in

“your affectionate friend

“Elizabeth.”

G. Fox also from Amsterdam wrote a letter to this virtuous princess, wherein he commended her modest and retired life, and exhorted her to piety and Godliness: to which she answered with this letter:

“Dear friend,

“I cannot but have a tender love to those that love the Lord Jesus Christ, and to whom it is given not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for him: therefore your letter, and your friends visit, have been both very welcome to me. I shall follow their and your counsel, as far as God will afford me light and unction; remaining still

“your loving friend,

“Elizabeth.”

Herford, the 30th of  
August 1677.

This correspondence gave occasion to William Penn and Robert Barclay to pass towards *Herford*, a town on the frontiers of Paderborn, and to give the said princess, who resided there, a visit. With her lived Anna Maria.



countess of Hornes ; and in one of the chambers of the princess, William Penn and Robert Barclay had a meeting with the princess, the countess, and several others to their great satisfaction. And the countess, who was one of Labadies adherents, signified to William Penn, that she wished a meeting might be had where the inferior servants might freely appear. William Penn not refusing this, the princess consented to it ; and after the meeting, (where she was not present, that so her servants might have a more free access) she expressed much satisfaction in having had that good opportunity. And then so earnestly invited William Penn and Robert Barclay, (who lodged at an inn) to sup with her, that they not being well able to refuse the invitation, yielded to it. There was then with her a French woman of quality, who having had before a very slight opinion of the Quakers, now became deeply broken, and very affectionately kind and respectful to William Penn and Robert Barclay. The next day was the first of the week ; and it being agreed with the princess to have another meeting, William Penn desired that not only as many of her own family, but as many of the town as would *willingly* be there, might be admitted. To this *she yielded*. And thus William Penn and Robert Barclay had a large opportunity to preach *effectually*, and to discharge themselves. After

the meeting was done the princess came to William Penn, and taking him by the hand, she spoke to him of the sense she had of the power and presence of God that had been among them; and thus going on she broke forth into an extraordinary passion, crying out, "I cannot speak to you, my heart is full," clapping her hand upon her breast. This affected William Penn not a little, yet he spoke a few words to her by way of admonition; and then taking his leave of her, she said, "Will you not come hither again? Pray call here as ye return out of Germany." To this he returned, "We are in the hand of the Lord, and being at his pleasure, cannot so fully dispose of ourselves." Solemn leave then being taken, Robert Barclay returned to Amsterdam, and William Penn went to Paderborn, and so by the way of Cassell (where, he spoke with the aged and learned Dureus) to Frankfort. Here he found several persons of note, with whom he had several times a meeting, and once at the house of a young gentlewoman, noble of birth, called Johanna Eleonora Merlane, who said to him, "Our quarters are free for you, let all come that will come; and lift up your voices without fear."

*Departing thence William Penn came to Chrisheim, a village near Worms, where then lived some of his friends who afterwards wen*

to Pennsylvania and settled themselves there. Whilst William Penn was in the Palatinate, he wrote an exhortatory epistle \* to Elizabeth princess Palatine, and Anna Maria countess of Hornes; and then went to Heidelberg, the chief city of the Palatinate, to speak with the prince Elector, Charles Ludowick, brother of the said princess Elizabeth; but the said prince then happened to be out of town: and since his chief message was to desire the prince that the Quakers at Chrisheim might be treated more mildly, (for tithes were exacted from them not only by the parson of the village, but also by the popish priest of Worms; and the vaught, or mayor of the town, endeavoured to restrain their due liberty of religious meeting together) he from thence took occasion to write a letter in their favour to the said prince †, because he had not been able to speak to him. Returning afterwards to Chrisheim, and preaching there in a meeting of his friends, he was overheard by the vaught, or chief officer, who stood at the back-door that he might not be seen, who was so well pleased with what he heard, that he afterwards told the parson, that it was his work, if the Quakers, were heretics, to discover *them to be such*: “ But for my part, continued

\* See Penn's Travels in Holland, &c. 3d impression, p. 77. † Ibid. p. 84

he, "I heard nothing but what was good; and therefore I would not meddle with them." For the parson had busied himself to persuade the vaught that it was his duty to suppress heresy: but the vaught made it appear that he had no mind to persecute for religion's-sake. W. Penn having now cleared his conscience returned by way of Frankfort, Cologne, Cleves, &c. to Amsterdam, where at Cologne he received a letter from the princess Elizabeth, in answer to that he had written to her from the Palatinate; the said letter was as followeth:

The  $\frac{4}{14}$  of September, 1677.

"Dear friend,

"I have received your greetings, good wishes, and exhortations, with much joy, and shall follow the latter as far as it will please our great God to give me light and strength. I can say little for myself, and can do nothing of myself; but I hope the Lord will conduct me in his time, by his way, to his end, and that I shall not shrink for his fire. I do long for it; and when he assures my ways, I hope he will give me power to bear the cross I meet therein; I am also glad to hear the journey hath been *prosperous both in the constitutions of your bodies, to withstand the badness of the weather, and in the reception you had in Cassel*

Frankfort, and Chrisheim. Nothing surprised me there but the good old Dury, in whom I did not expect so much ingeniousness, having lately written a book, entitled, *Le véritable Chrétien*, that doth speak in another way. I wish to know what reception you have had at Fredericksburg, and if this find you at Cleves, I wish you might take an occasion to see the two pastors of Mulheim, who do really seek the Lord, but have some prejudice against your doctrine, as also the countess there. It would be of much use for my family to have them disabused; yet God's will be done in that, and all things else concerning

“your loving friend in the Lord Jesus,  
“Elizabeth.”

Whilst William Penn made this journey into Germany, George Fox was gone to Hamburg and Frederickstadt, to visit his friends there; and Penn being returned to Amsterdam, went from thence to Friesland, and met George Fox as he was coming back to Holland, at Leewarden; from whence he made a step to Wiewart, where a society of the Labadites dwelt. Here he spoke with the famous Anna Maria Schurman, the gentlewoman Somerdykes, the French pastor Peter Yvon, and others. After some discourse from both sides, when Yvon had given a relation concerning John de Labadie, how he

was bred among the Jesuits, and deserted them, and embraced the Protestant religion, and how becoming dissatisfied with the formal Protestants, he with some that adhered to him, had separated themselves from the vulgar assemblies. Anna Maria Schurman began to speak, and gave an account of her former life, of her pleasure in learning, and her love to the religion she was brought up in, but confessed she knew not God nor Christ truly all that while. And though from a child God had visited her at times, yet she never felt such a powerful stroke, as by the ministry of John de Labadie: and then she saw her learning to be vanity, and her religion like a body of death; and therefore resolved to despise the shame, desert her former way of living and acquaintance, and to join herself with this little family, that was retired out of the world. This and much more she spoke in a sensible frame, and with a serious mind, not without some trembling. And then one of the Somerdykes gave also an ample relation, concerning her inward state, and how she had been reached by the preaching of Labadie; and how before that time she had mourned because of the deadness and formality of the vulgar Christians, and said within herself, O the pride, the lusts, the vain pleasures in which Christians live! Can this be the way to heaven? Is this the way to glory? Are there

followers of Christ? O no! O God where is thy little flock? Where is thy little family that will live entirely to thee, that will follow thee? Make me one of that number." Then she told how being pricked to the heart, when she heard Labadie preach, she had resolved to abandon the glory and pride of this world; and farther said that she counted herself happy to have joined with this separated family. After some others had likewise given an account of their change, William Penn also gave a circumstantial relation, how he had been gradually drawn off from the vanity and pride of life; what adversities he had met with in the university at Oxford, because of his not joining with the debauchery committed there; and how after having lived some time in France he had been convinced by the effectual ministry of Thomas Loe, and so came to be joined with the despised Quakers. This his relation he concluded with a serious admonition how they ought to go on, and to grow in the true fear of God. At parting, one of the pastors asked him if the truth rose not first among a poor, illiterate, and simple people. "Yes," answered William Penn; "*and it is our comfort that we owe it not to the learning of this world.*" To which the pastor returned, "*Then let not the learning of this world be used to defend that which the Spirit of God hath brought forth; for scholars now*

coming among you, will be apt to mix school learning amongst your simpler and purer language, and thereby obscure the brightness of your testimony." W. Penn having answered to the purpose, took his leave, and travelled by way of Groeninghen to Embden, where the Quakers at that time were persecuted severely with imprisonments and banishments: but I wave the relation thereof, because it hath long ago been published in print, and the magistrates there, being afterwards moved to pity by the persecution the Protestants suffered in France, came to a better resolution, as may be mentioned in the sequel.

When W. Penn came to Embden, he went to speak with the burgomaster André at his house, and asked him if he and the senate had not received a letter in Latin\* from an Englishman

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\* Which being translated into English, runs thus, and deserves the serious consideration of all magistrates.

## To the Council and Senate of the City of EMBDEN.

*The King of kings, and Lord of lords, who is God of all the families of the earth, incline your hearts to justice, mercy, and truth.*

*THE noise of your severe treatment of several persons  
that are inhabitants of your state, reproachfully termed*



about two years since, concerning their severity towards the people called Quakers? The burgomaster said he had. W. Penn then replied,

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Quakers, hath reached these parts, and filled several with compassion and surprise: compassion, to hear of the† miseries of men innocent and upright, against whom you have nothing to object, but the pure exercise of their conscience to God: surprise, that you a Protestant state, should employ your civil power to deter, punish and grievously afflict men for answering the convictions of their consciences, and acting according to the best of their understanding. Methinks you should not be oblivious of your own condition in the loins of your ancestors who, you think, with great reason and justice strenuously advocated the cause of liberty of conscience against the Popes' bulls and the Spanish inquisition; how did they antichristian all force on conscience or punishment for nonconformity? Their own many and large apologies, and particularly their demands at the diets of Norimburgh and Spire, are pregnant proofs in that case; and your practice doth not lessen the weight of their reasons; on the contrary, it aggravates your unkindness, let me say, injustice.

Protestants (and such you glory to be thought) got their name by protesting against imposition; and will you turn imposers? They condemned it; and will you practise it? They thought it a mark peculiar to the beast; and can you repute it the care of a Christian magistracy? I mean, that persons must not live under

† Our account says, some were cruelly beaten by order; others banished; some put in a dungeon, and fed with bread and water only; several fined greater sums of money, it is thought, than they had to pay.

“I am that man, and am constrained in conscience to visit thee on their behalf, &c. The burgomaster deported himself with more kind-

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your government, unless they receive your mark in their forehead or right hand? which in plainer terms is, to submit their consciences to your edicts, and to ask your leave what religion they should be of. Remember that faith is the gift of God; and that, what is not of faith is sin; nothing can be more unreasonable, than to compel men to believe against their belief, or to trouble them for practising what they believe, when it thwarts not the moral law of God.

You doubtless take yourselves to be Christians, and esteem it no little injury to be otherwise represented; yet what more unchristian, than to use external force to sway the consciences of men about the exercise of religious worship.

Christ Jesus, the Lord and author of the Christian religion, censured his own disciples, that would have had fire from heaven to destroy those that conformed not to what their blessed Master taught: are you surer of your religion? Are you better Christians? Or, have you more Christian authority, than they that were the chosen witnesses of Jesus? However, remember, they called but for fire from heaven, and can you kindle fire on earth to devour them? Them, I say, that are of your own people, merely for their religious dissent from you? Doubtless, if that was then thought no fit argument to induce men to conformity by him that was wiser than Solomon; it reflects greatly upon your modesty and prudence, that *you should find out new ways, or rather old exploded ones to effect so ill a design.* Besides, you do not *say you know all you ought to know, or that there is nothing farther to be revealed; have a care, therefore, that*

ness than was expected, and gave some faint hope of alteration ; but it appeared sufficiently that the senate was not as yet so disposed, for

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persecute not angels, by being harsh to that which you call strange : think not ill, much less speak, and least of all act, that which is so against what you do not perfectly understand. I am well persuaded, that those you inflicted such severe penalties upon, mean well in what they believe (to be sure much better than you think they do, or else you are extremely to blame) and that the reason of their present distance from you, is not to introduce or insinuate dangerous or exotick opinions, but to live a life of more holiness, purity, and self denial than before : they do not think that you walk up to your own principles ; and have reason to believe the power of godliness is much lost among you ; and having long lain under a decay and languishing of soul for want of true spiritual nourishment, they have now betaken themselves to that heavenly gift and grace of God in themselves for divine satisfaction, even that holy anointing that is able to teach them all things necessary for them to know , as the blessed apostle speaks ; and they find the joys of the Holy Ghost in so doing ; and I am persuaded they are not less peaceable, sober, just, and neighbourly than formerly, and altogether as consistent with the prosperity of civil society ; and I am sure it is both sound and confessed among us here by some men of quality, learning, and virtue. Farther, be pleased to consider with yourselves, that you justify the ancient persecutions of the Christians and first reformers, whose superiors thought as ill of them, as you do of these men ; nay, *you shew the Papists what to do in their dominions to your own brethren. Do as you would be done by : if you would have liberty, give it ; you know that God's witness*

persecution continued there yet a long while.

After W. Penn had staid sometime at Embden, he took a turn again to Herford, where he

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in your hearts dictates this to you as an immutable law.

Could you give faith, it were more excusable for you to punish such as should resist; but since that is impossible, the other is unreasonable; for it is to afflict men for not being what they cannot be unless they turn hypocrites: that is the highest pitch your coercive power can arrive at; for never did it convert or preserve one soul to God; instead thereof it offers violence unto conscience, and puts a man either upon the denial of his faith and reason, or being destroyed for acting according to them: but what greater disproportion can there be, than what lieth between the intellect of man, and prisons, fines, and banishments? These inform no man's judgment, resolve no doubts, convince no understanding: the power of persuasion is not to be found in any such barbarous actions, no more than the doctrine of Christianity. This course destroys the bodies and estates of men, instead of saving their souls: were they in the wrong, it would become you to use God's weapons, his sword of the Spirit, that saveth the creature; and slayeth the evil in him; this course tends to heart burnings and destruction; I am sure it is no gospel argument.

I beseech you for the sake of that Lord Jesus Christ, that suffered so patiently for his own religion, and so sharply prohibited making other men to suffer for theirs, that you would have a care how you exercise power over men's consciences. My friends, conscience is God's throne in man, and the power of it his prerogative: it is to usurp his authority, and boldly ascend his throne, to set law over it. Were their conversation scandalous, and destructive to the good of your state, you were to be

was received very kindly by the princess Elizabeth, and the countess of Hornes; and more than once he had a meeting in her chamber;

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excusable: but verily, no man of mercy and conscience, can defend your practice upon poor men so peaceable and inoffensive. Gamaliel will rise up in judgment against you, if you persevere in this course. Do not you help to fill the catalogue of persecutors, in much love I intreat you; but as becomes Christian men and true Protestants, leave men to their particular persuasions of affairs relative to the other world which have no ill aspect on the affairs of this: but vice hath an evil consequence as to both: therefore punish vice, and affect truth and righteousness, and bend not your civil power to torment religious dissenters, but to retrieve good life, lamentably lost amidst the great pretences that are made to religion. Doubtless magistracy was both ordained of God, and elected by men, to be a terror to evil doers, and not to them that do well, though of different judgments. You oppugn the Roman church for assuming infallibility to herself, and yet your own practice maketh you guilty of the same presumption or worse: for either you do exercise that severity upon an infallible knowledge, or you do not; if you do, you take that to yourselves your principles deny to any church whatever, which is a contradiction; if you do not, you punish people for not conforming to what you yourselves deny any certainty about: and how do you know but you compel them to that which is false, as well as that which is true? Verily, this dilemma is not easily avoided, as well as

*that this inhuman practice will stain your profession, infame your government, and bring a blot upon your posterity.*

*Remember that they are men, as well as yourselves*

and the princess was so reached and affected by his speaking, that she said, " I am fully convinced ; but oh my sins are great !" this gave occa-

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born free, and have equal plea to natural and civil common privileges with yourselves : the different persuasion of their consciences about things relating to another life, can no ways render them unfit for this ; it neither unmans nor uncivilizes them. They have the same right to their liberty and property as ever, having by no practice of theirs in the least forfeited any of those human advantages, the great charters of nature and Scripture have conferred upon them: and the opulence of your neighbours and prosperity of their affairs, prove to you that indulgence is not inconsistent with policy ; howbeit, you have now tried the sincerity of their procedure by what you have already inflicted, and they sustained ; let the time past suffice, and make them not sacrifices for their conscientious constancy. If they are in the wrong, it is more than they know : will you persecute men for being what they must be, if they will be true to themselves ; this were great violence : rather commiserate, than thus violently compel them. I beseech you, seek some cheaper way to accommodate yourselves, than by their destruction, who are so very remote from seeking yours. Oh ! the day will come, wherein one act of tenderness about matters of conscience, shall find a better reward, than all the severity by which men use to propagate their persuasions in the world ; and there is great reason for it, since the one flows from the Saviour, the other from the destroyer of men. In fine, let your moderation be known unto all men, for the Lord is at hand, whose reward is with him ; and he will recompence every man, family, state, kingdom, and empire, according to the nature of their works, committed in this mortal body ; at wh

sion to W. Penn to speak to the princess and the countess apart, with respect to their particular conditions; which made a deep impression on their minds, especially the countess's. Being much pressed by the princess to stay, and sup

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bar it shall never be laid to your charge, that out of fear of taking God's office out of his hands, and being unmerciful to tender consciences, you admitted men of differing judgments to dwell quietly among you; truly, you cannot be too tender in this point.

Imitate the God of nature and grace, by being propitious to all; his sun shineth on all; his rain falls on all, he gives life and being to all; his grace visits all, and in times of ignorance he winketh: and though such you may repute ours, I hope you cannot think you wink at it, who make such broad tokens of your displeasure. Oh! how forbearing and merciful is he towards you? Have you so lately escaped the wrath of enemies, and can you already thus sharply treat your friends? Had he entered into judgment with you, what had become of you? Let his goodness to you prevail with you, to express clemency to others, that so the great God of the whole earth, even the God of the spirits of all flesh, who respects not the persons of the rich, poor, or powerful in judgment, may shew you mercy in the day of his righteous judgments. Amen.

Your friend with the greatest integrity in the universal principle of  
love and truth,

W. Penn.

*London, December  
14. 1674.*

with her, he yielded : and the countess from a serious sense of her compliance with the world, told him, "*Il faut que je rompe, il faut que je rompe,*" i. e. "I must break off, I must break off." And at another time with a weighty countenance she cried out, "Oh the cumber and entanglements of this vain world! they hinder all good." Once the princess said to them, "It is a hard matter to be faithful to what one knows. I fear that I am not weighty enough in my spirit." At another time she told him: "Among my books I have records that the gospel was by the English first brought from England into Germany; and now it is come again." Thus this excellent princess signified how highly she valued the preaching of the gospel to her by W. Penn, and how much she esteemed his labour and ministry. When he took his leave of these eminent persons, having taken the princess by the hand, which she received with a weighty kindness, being much broken in spirit he wished the blessing and peace of Jesus with and upon her : and then exhorting the countess, she frequently beseeched him to remember her, and implore the Lord on her behalf.

*Next taking waggon for Wesel, from thence he travelled back to Duisburgh, Dusseldorp, and Cologne, and then back again to Dusseldorp, see if he could get an opportunity to speak v*



the countess of Falkenstein, who was reported to be a very religious person, and therefore in a former journey he had endeavoured to visit her, but in vain : for the count of Bruch and Falkenstein, her father, kept her as it were under confinement, because she was of a religious temper ; and therefore he called her a Quaker, though she did not at all converse with any of the Quakers. He had also used William Penn very roughly ; when being necessitated to pass by his castle, he being lord of that country, asked some of his friends from whence they were, and whither they went ? To which they answered, that they were Englishmen come from Holland, and going no further in those parts, than to his town of Mulheim : but they not pulling off their hats the count called them Quakers, and said “ We have no need of Quakers here. Get you out of my dominions, you shall not go to my town.” And he commanded some of his soldiers to see them out of his territory. Thus W. Penn, and those with him, were necessitated to lie that night in the open air. But the next day he wrote a letter to the said count and therein told him, “ For thy saying, we want no Quakers here, I say, under favour, you do ; for a true Quaker is one that trembleth at the word *of the Lord, that worketh out his salvation with fear and trembling.*”

*W. Penn being come to Mulheim, could now*

no more find opportunity to speak with the countess than the first time he was in those parts; and therefore he went to Duisburgh, Wesel, and Cleves, where having had conferences with some religious people, he returned by way of Utrecht to Amsterdam, where G. Fox was also come back again.

Here W. Penn and G. Fox had a conference and dispute with Dr. Galenus Abraham, an eminent Baptist teacher, and some of that persuasion. Galenus asserted, that nobody now-a-days could be accepted as a messenger of God, unless he confirmed the same by miracles. W. Penn wanted no arguments to contradict this, since the Christian religion had been once already confirmed by miracles and that therefore this was now needless amongst Christians. G. Fox now and then spoke also something to the matter; but he being somewhat short breathed went several times away, which some were ready to impute to a passionate temper; but I well know that therein they wronged him. This dispute was indeed a troublesome business; for the parties on both sides were fain to speak by an interpreter, which was generally so imperfectly performed, that at last the conference was broken off, *without coming to a decision, although many weighty arguments were objected against the position.* Certainly it cannot be denied that John the Baptist was sent of God to preach

pentance; and yet in sacred writ it is said positively, John did no miracle; and yet many believed in him. And although there were some among the prophets that wrought miracles, yet we do not find in the Holy Scriptures that Jonah who was indeed a notable preacher of repentance did any miracle, and yet nevertheless the Ninevites believed him, and deprecated those judgments he denounced, unless they repented. Of several other true prophets, we find not the least mention of any miracles they did; on the contrary the Scriptures signify, that possibly false prophets might arise, and give signs and wonders: and that the performing of miracles could not always be a proof, or sure evidence, that any one was sent of God, appears plainly from what our Saviour himself said, viz. that among those to whom he should say, Depart from me, would be such who should say, Have we not in thy name cast out devils, and in thy name done many wonderful works? And what shall we think of the sorcerers of Egypt? Did they not seem to do the same wonders as Moses and Aaron did; And yet those wonders wherewithal they deceived Pharoah and his men, were in no wise wrought upon by a divine power. Now since it appears plainly from the Holy Scriptures *and Christ himself said, "There shall arise false prophets, and shall shew great signs and wonders,"* we might with good reason suspect the

doctrine of one, who now-a-days wrought miracles, on purpose to make what he denounced, pass for truth.

This being duly considered, it seems to be very absurd, to require miracles again for confirmation of the same gospel which once hath been confirmed by miracles ; and to desire that the truth of what once hath been declared by the apostles, and strengthened by wonderful works, should be sealed anew with outward wonders. But it would indeed have been another case if a new gospel were preached, and if any pretended to give forth new Holy Scriptures ; for then it might be said with reason, that it was necessary that this new gospel should be made credible, and confirmed by miracles. But where no other gospel is preached, than what hath been once delivered to the Christians by the first promulgators of the Christian religion, and where this is not done amongst heathens, or at least such as bear the name, there it cannot in justice be required to confirm this doctrine once more with miracles, the rather because, as hath been shewed already, the working of miracles, may not always pass for an irrefragible proof of one's being really pious and godly. To this may be added, that the miracles which *Christ and his apostles* wrought, to give credit to the appearing of the Son of God in the flesh may be considered as types and figures of those

spiritual wonders which should be wrought in the souls of people, when Christ was to be seen the second time and to appear by his Spirit, to the salvation of those who wait for him : for the eye of the mind being blinded must be opened and enlightened by him ; and many that are dead in trespasses and sins, shall by him be raised and made alive. This I think may suffice to shew that the position of Dr. Galenus could not stand the test ; but whatever was objected, he continued to maintain his opinion.

Not long after this dispute, G. Fox and W. Penn returned to England, where, after having sustained a violent tempest at sea, they arrived safely at Harwich : passing from thence to London, W. Penn there received the following letter from the princess Elizabeth, in answer to his :

Herford, Oct. 29, 1677.

“ Dear friend

“ Your tender care of my eternal well-being doth oblige me much, and I will weigh every article of your counsel to follow it as much as lies in me, but God's grace must be assistant, as you say yourself: he accepts nothing that does not come from him. If I had made me bare of worldly goods, and left undone what he *requires most*, I mean to do all in and by his *Son, I shall be in no better condition than at this present.* Let me feel him first governing

in my heart, then to do what he requires of me ; but I am not able to teach others, not being taught of God myself. Remember my love to G. F. B. F. F. K. and dear Gertrude.\* If you write no worse than your postscript, I can make a shift to read it. Do not think I go from what I spoke to you the last evening ; I only stay to do that in a way that is answerable before God and man : I can say no more now, but recommend to your prayers,

“ your true friend,  
“ Elizabeth.”

P. S. “ I almost forgot to tell you, that my sister writes me word, she had been glad you had taken your journey by Osenburgh, to return to Amsterdam. There is also a Drossard of Limbourg near this place, (to whom I gave an exemplar of R. B’s apology) very desirous to speak with the friends.”

Yet another letter W. Penn received from the said princess, in answer to one he wrote from the Briel, on his passage towards England, which was as followeth :

\* *This was Gertrude Dericks, who had paid the princess a visit, and afterwards came to live in England and was married to Stephen Crisp.*

To the princess Elizabeth, Salvation in the Cross, Amen.

“Dear and truly respected friend,

“My soul most earnestly desireth thy temporal and eternal felicity, which standeth in thy doing the will of God now on earth, as it is done in heaven. O dear princess do it! say the word once in truth and righteousness, Not my will, but thine be done, O God! Thy days are few, and then thou must go to judgment.\* Then an account of thy talent God will require from thee. What improvement hast thou made? Let it prove and shew its own excellency, that it is of God, and that it leadeth all that love it, to God. O that thou mayest be able to give an account with joy!

“I could not leave this country, and not testify the resentments I bear in my mind, of that humble and tender entertainment thou gavest us at thy court: the Lord Jesus reward thee: and surely he hath a blessing in store for thee. Go on, be steadfast, overcome, and thou shalt inherit. Do not despond; one that is mighty is near thee; a present help in the needful time of trouble. O let the desire of thy soul be to to his name, and to the remembrance of him. *O wait upon the Lord*, and thou shalt renew thy

\**She died about four years after.*

strength ! The youth shall faint, and the young men shall fail, but they that trust in the Lord shall never be confounded.

“ I wish thee all true and solid felicity, with my whole soul. The Lord God of Heaven and earth have thee in his keeping, that thou mayest not lose, but keep in that divine sense, which by his eternal word, he hath begotten in thee. Receive, dear princess, my sincere and Christian salutation ; grace, mercy and peace be multiplied among you all that love the Lord Jesus.

“ Thy business I shall follow with all the diligence and discretion I can, and by the first give thee an account, after it shall please the Lord to bring me safe to London. All my brethren are well, and present thee with their dear love : and the rest with thee that love Jesus, the light of the world, in thy family. Thou hast taught me to forget thou art a princess, and therefore I use this freedom and to that of God in thee am I manifest ; and I know my integrity. Give, if thou pleasest, the salutation of my dear love to A. M. de Hornes, with the enclosed. Dear princess, do not hinder, but help her. That may be required of her, which (considering thy circumstances) may not be required of thee. Let her stand free, and her freedom will make the *passage easier unto thee*. Accept what I say, *I intreat thee, in that pure and heavenly love and respect, in which I write so plainly to the*



Farewell, my dear friend, and the Lord be with thee. I am more than I can say,

“thy great lover, and  
“respectful friend,  
W. Penn.”

I refer thee to the enclosed for passages. We visited Gichtel and Hooftman, and they us: they were at one or two of the meetings in Amsterdam, *Vale in eternum*.

To this letter, the princess returned the following answer.

This 17 November, 1677.

“Dear friend,

“I have received a letter from you, that seemeth to have been written on your passage to England, which I wish may be prosperous: without date, but not without virtue to spur me on to do and suffer the will of our God. I can say in sincerity and truth, Thy will be done, O God, because I wish it heartily; but I cannot speak in righteousness, until I possess that righteousness which is acceptable unto him. Gichtel has been well satisfied with the conferences between you. My house and my heart shall be always open to those that love God. As for my business, it will *go as the Lord pleaseth*, and I remain in him

“your affectionate friend,  
“Elizabeth,”

G. Fox being now come to London, received there letters from New England, with an account of the cruel proceedings of the magistrates against his friends there : for persecution being hot in Old England, it made those in New England the worse insomuch that they did not only whip the Quakers that were there, but also some masters of ships that were no Quakers, only for bringing some of that persuasion thither. But about that time the Indians made an inroad upon the English, and slew threescore of their men ; and having taken one of their captains, they flayed off the skin of his head, while he was alive, and carried it away in triumph.

Now since the people called Quakers were also much persecuted in Scotland, they drew up an account of their sufferings, and delivered it to the king in the beginning of this year ; but whether they got any relief I cannot tell.

In the latter part of this year, G. Fox travelled through many parts of England ; in the meanwhile I will again make some mention of the persecution there. At Plymouth, about this time, those called Quakers, were generally kept out of their meeting-house, and then performing their worship in the open street, as a duty they owed to God, and for the omission of *which they judged no man could be justified, they suffered exceedingly, not only in winter,*

by the sharpness of the weather, but also summer; for it was more than twelve months that they thus kept their meetings in the open street, being grievously abused by the rabbi and the soldiers; for beating and punching seemed not sufficient; fiery squibs and burning coals were thrown amongst them, and filthy excrements cast down upon them out of a window: besides fines were extorted for their having been at the meeting, on the account of one Richard Samble, who was fined as a preacher, for having been on his knees at prayer, which fine was laid upon four of them that were at the said meeting.

At Frenchhay in Gloucestershire, the justice, John Merideth behaved himself exceedingly furious in disturbing the Quakers meetings; for he himself did not only beat them, but more than once drew his knife to mark them, as he called it, had he not been restrained by his servants, who for all that could not prevent his taking some by the hair of their head, and pulling them away: nay, the havoc and spoil which was made, was so extravagant, that from one Thomas Holbrow, an ancient blind man, they took his bed from under him, so that he and his wife lay about a quarter of a year on straw; and when his friends provided him with *some warm clothing* against winter, part of that *was also taken from him*: for such plundering *went on with a full career*; and the bases

men were authorized to deprive others of their goods, if there were but a justice that favoured such.

At Bayton in Suffolk, Edmund Bally was by warrant from justice Burwel, despoiled of what he had, both within doors and without, his goods having been distrained five times: and though he was fain to lie on straw, yet he was not left unmolested, for they came in the night, armed with pistols, and broke open his door, threatening to destroy him. It happened there also that a poor blind widow, on her sick bed, was visited by some persons; and this was made a conventicle, and they were fined, and warrants issued out by the aforesaid justice to make distrainment on their goods. In many other places things went no better; but I need not detain my reader with every particular.

This year died in prison William Dobson, of Britewell in Berkshire, having been spoiled of his goods from time to time, during the space of thirteen years, and almost always in prison too, till his hard sufferings ended with his life.

It was also in this year that William III. prince of Orange, came from Holland into England, and there entered into matrimony with the princess Mary, eldest daughter of the duke of York, which in process of time made way for him to the throne of Great Britain. He accomplishing his marriage there on the 14th of No

vember, being his birthday; and not long after returned to Holland with his spouse.

About the beginning of the year 1678, G Fox came to London, and the parliament sitting at that time, he and G. Whitehead presented to them an account of the grievous sufferings of their friends, by laws made against the Papists; and they were not without hopes of obtaining some ease, because several of the members of that august assembly seemed to favour them; but the parliament was suddenly prorogued, whereby a stop was put to their endeavours.

G. F. then travelling through many places, came home to Swarthmore in the latter part of the year; and since many of his friends at this time were under great persecution, and in prison, he wrote the following epistle to them:

“ My dear friends,

“ Who are sufferers for the Lord Jesus sake, and for the testimony of his truth, the Lord God Almighty with his power uphold you and support you in all your trials and sufferings; and give you patience, and content in his will, that ye may stand valiant for Christ and his truth upon the earth, over the persecuting and destroying spirit, which makes to suffer, in Christ (*who bruises his head*) in whom ye have both election *and salvation*. And for God's elect sake the *ord hath done much from the foundation of*

the world ; as may be seen throughout the Scriptures of Truth ; and they that touch them, touch the apple of God's eye, they are so tender to him. And therefore it is good for all God's suffering children to trust in the Lord, and to wait upon him ; for they shall be as mount Sion, that cannot be removed from Christ their rock and salvation, who is the foundation of all the elect of God, of the prophets and the apostles, and of God's people now, and to the end : glory to the Lord and the Lamb over all. Remember my dear love to all friends ; and do not think the time long, for all time is in the Father's hand, his power. And therefore keep the word of patience, and exercise that gift ; and the Lord strengthen you in your sufferings, in his holy Spirit of faith. Amen.

“ George Fox.”

Swarthmore the 5th of the  
12th month 1678.

Persecution was now very hot in many places. At Bawnasse, in Westmoreland, it happened that those of the society called Quakers being religiously met together, were much abused by the rude people : and besides other insolencies that were committed, a dog being *thrown among them*, one John Thompson said to *this wicked crew*, that they ought to behave *themselves civil and moderate* ; and for sayin

so he was informed against as a preacher, and on that account was fined twenty pounds. Mary Tod, a poor ancient widow in Yorkshire, having had a meeting at her house, was also fined twenty pounds by justice Francis Driffield; and when the informers told him that her goods were not worth so much, he ordered them to take all that they could find: this they did, and did not leave her a bed to lie on; nay they took away all her clothes.

This year the ambassadors of the king of France, and those of the united Netherlands, with those of several other, potentates, were met in Nimeguen, to treat about a general peace; and therefore Robert Barclay wrote an epistle to them in Latin, to exhort them to this good work: the epistle, together with his Apology, for the true Christian Divinity, in Latin, was delivered to each of the said ambassadors, viz. a book for every one of them, and one for their principals. George Fox also wrote an exhortatory epistle to them, which being translated and printed in Latin, was also sent to them. And before this year came to an end, the peace was concluded.

In the meanwhile persecution went on in England, and those that were envious did not want *a specious pretence* to gild their malice; for *about this time a plot of the Papists being discovered, there seemed a necessity to watch*

against seditious assemblies ; insomuch, that those who had no mind to persecute, were in a manner constrained to it ; of which an instance was seen in the year 1679, at Castle Dumington in Leicestershire : for John Evat having been fined for a meeting at his house, and goods enough to answer not being found, the constable, and three other officers were fined each five pounds, because they had been backward to take away the said Evat's goods. But the ecclesiastics shewed themselves more covetous, to get what they pretended to be their due ; and one Michael Reynolds, at Farringdon in Berkshire, was this year despoiled of cattle, barley, and beans for tithes, to the value of more than ninety seven pounds, and all this only for one year.

Thus honest men were oppressed, which gave occasion to a certain writer of that time, (who in print gave many instances of that nature) to say, truly the Papists may laugh because of their victory, now they have got a law where one Protestant fights against another. This was chiefly levelled against conventicles ; for thereby many families were impoverished, because often they were robbed of thrice as much as the fine amounted to ; and the basest means that *could be thought of* were used to enrich the persecutors with the spoil of the innocent : for *it happened that four of those called Quaker*



travelling on the way, this was deemed a transgression, by adding a fifth to their number who was not of their society. And thus the informers (some of whom were often whores, or wives of informers) made a meeting of it, and this passed; so great was the power of these profligates; and on this account the goods of the said four persons were distrained. More abominable actions of that kind I could mention, if I did not think it might seem tedious. Such despoiling was permitted now to any naughty fellow, and this made them so insolent, that one John Hill, constable at Walsingham in Norfolk, when he was shewed the injustice of the warrant he had, said, Justice or no, I will take it for all that.

At Norwich lived one William Wat, who for several years had carried on the trade of informing, but whatever he got by it turned to no account; and often he was seized with such fits of weakness, that he could not stand on his legs; but this year, in October, the hand of God fell so heavy upon him, that it put a period to his life. He had supped at night, and was as well, according to his wife's relation, as ever; but on a sudden he sunk down to the ground, and his daughter crying aloud, he seemed to look at *her, and so died without more ado: but what was looked upon as a very strange thing, his corpse stunk so grievously, that none were wi*

ling to carry it, and the overseers of the poor were necessitated to hire four men to bear it to the grave.

Far otherwise was the exit of Isaac Pennington, an eminent minister and author among those called Quakers, and a man of an acute wit, and great endowments, who in the year 1658, on Whitsunday so called, being in a meeting at the house of John Crook in Bedfordshire, was so reached by the preaching of G. Fox, that he, who before that time had contradicted the Quakers with his natural wisdom, now embraced their doctrine as truth, and did not hesitate to make public profession of it, for which he afterwards several times suffered imprisonments during the space of many years; but he continued steadfast to the end without fainting, and died piously in October at his house near Goodnestone in Kent, from whence his corpse was carried in to Buckinghamshire, where he had lived, and was honourably interred there.

Sometime before, G. F. had written some queries to the pope and the Papists, which being translated into Dutch, and printed, I was desired by him to translate into Latin, and to send them to Rome to the pope.\* This I did

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\* These queries in Latin, with what the author W. S. wrote to the pope on that occasion, are to be seen in the Appendix to the Dutch history, which being translated into English, the reader may take as follows.

at his desire but never received or heard of any answer to them.

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### To Innocent XI. Pope of Rome, S.

“Great prelate !

“THOU wilt perhaps at first sight admire that the writing inclosed should be sent to thee ; but know it was done at the command of the author ; and not undeservedly ; for if thou rightly weighest and considerest the matter, thou must with us acknowledge, that it would be very unworthily done to keep this little treatise from thy view, which hath been already printed in the Dutch language. and carries the pope’s name in the frontispiece. Nor wilt thou be able to deny, that thou art not only not injured hereby, but that we have also performed a duty that we owed thee, in transmitting these questions which properly belong to thee But if thou pleasest to read them and return an answer, thou wilt both oblige the author, and also remove the suspicion of error from your religion, in the sight of all christendom, provided thou canst give a clear answer to the objections, not only in word, but in deed also.

“ I wrote this at the request of certain of my friends called Quakers.

“ W, Sewel.”

Amsterdam, the 23rd day of the  
month called April, 1679.

Some questions presented to the Papists, and the pope of Rome, as the supreme head of their church, and commended to their consideration by George Fox.

“ Friends,

I. How comes it to pass, that the pope and cardinals

This year there was a great commotion in England about a plot carried on by the Papists against the life of the king, who made his bro-

grant not to the Protestants living in Spain, Italy, and at Rome. that liberty of meeting together for the right performing of divine worship, which ye yourselves enjoy in England, Holland and other places, where the Protestants have the chief power?

Would not the pope and his ministers persecute, deliver to the inquisition and burn them, if they should at any time set up as many meetings in Spain, Italy, and at Rome, as ye yourselves enjoy in many places in Protestant countries?

Is the royal law of God thus fulfilled, which teacheth, to do to all men what-ever we would have done to ourselves? Matt. vii. 12. Would ye have those things done to you by Protestants, which ye have done to them? But if not; where then are the royal law and gospel among you? God forbid, that we should deny liberty to any one that acknowledgeth God, and believeth in his Son, the Lord Jesus Christ. It seems therefore very strange to us, that the pope and Papists do deny the same liberty in the prementioned places, which they themselves enjoy among the Protestants; because it is not only contrary to reason, but also to law and gospel: for the apostle affirmeth, "That he that was born after the flesh persecuted him that was born after the Spirit," Gal. iv. 29. Have not the Papists therefore openly shewn in themselves the fleshly birth, which is contrary to reason, law, and gospel.

2. *Where did Christ or his apostles ever command men, to bow themselves to images, and to worship them, and keep holy-days? Where did they command holy-days to be appointed in remembrance of themselves, and*

ther, the duke of York, go beyond sea for some time; for the parliament suspecting him, a motion was made in the house of commons to exclude

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the same to be honoured? Why do ye not tell us where in the gospels, epistles, or in the revelation, any such thing was commanded those churches, which were in the time of the apostles and primitive Christians?

Where, I say, did Christ or his apostles give command to whip, hang or burn men; or, to speak as gently as may be, at least to imprison any because they dissented from them, and could not adhere to their religion?

3. Wherever did Christ or his apostles in the primitive churches command that candles should be lighted at noon day? Well, shew us where it is written, whether it be in the gospels, or epistles, is not therefore the Roman church degenerated from the church of the primitive times? Is she not fallen from spiritual weapons to carnal, hath she not revolted from that purity and virginity, wherein she witnessed in time past Christ to be the head of the churches?

4. Did the churches of ancient time make choice of a private man, and account him for head of the universal church? Wherever did the primitive church command infants to be sprinkled with water? Did not Christ say, "Teach all nations, baptizing them," &c. Matt. xxviii. 19. Ought they not therefore to be taught before they were baptized? Are ye not degenerated from that faith which Christ is the author and finisher of, and which purifieth the heart, and giveth victory over sin, and evil, which separate from God, and by which we have access to God, and wherewith he is well pleased? Are ye not *degenerated from the light, truth, grace, power and spirit, wherein the apostles were?*

5. *Have ye not degenerated from the ancient church*

him from the succession to the crown; but this project was quashed.

In the beginning of the year 1680, it happen-

because ye suffer not the people to read the holy Scripture in their mother tongue? for doth not the apostle say. "And when this epistle is read among you, cause that it be also read in the church of the Laodiceans," Col. iv. 16. and elsewhere, "I charge you by the Lord, that this epistle be read unto all the holy brethren," 1 Thes. v. 27. Yea, did not Christ also say, "O fools, and slow of heart, to believe all that the prophets have spoken," Luke xxiv. 25.

How can it possibly be, that your common people should believe those things which Christ, the prophets, and apostles have spoken, unless it be granted them to read or recite the same in their own tongue, to the end they might both hear and understand them by the Spirit which gave them forth? Why then do ye take away the use of the holy Scriptures from the common people? Are ye afraid lest the truth should appear manifest, whereby they might see and believe what is written in the law and prophets, and by Christ and his apostles? Had not the Jews the law and the prophets in their mother tongue, that their children might read them? Ought not therefore all Christians likewise to have the New Testament, that makes mention of Christ and his apostles, in their mother tongue? But if not, why do ye not shew us where Christ or his apostles have forbidden it?

6. But what do you say of the sacrament of the altar (as it is called?) Why have ye slain many, and burnt others alive in England, France, the Low Countries, and other places because they could not approve or receive it? Ye assert it as a thing certain, that the bread &

ed, that George Whitehead and Thomas Burr coming to Norwich, and preaching there in the meeting of their friends, were taken prisoners,

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wine as soon as ye have consecrated them, are made Christ, yea, whole Christ, consisting of soul, spirit flesh, blood, and bones. Besides ye boldly affirm, that all who receive that sacrament do receive whole Christ, and that after your consecration, that very thing becomes immortal and divine.

Wherefore come O pope, cardinals, and priests, let us take a bottle of wine, and a loaf of bread, and equally divide the wine into two basons, and cut the bread into two parts: then let the pope, cardinals, or priest consecrate one part which they please; which being done, let us lay up the consecrated and the unconsecrated together, in some close place, and secure the same with seven locks and keys on your part, and with as many on ours, both Papists and Protestants keeping watch over it. But if it plainly appear, that the consecrated bread and wine are immortal and divine, and lose nothing of their virtue and savour, nor grow mouldy or sour, as though they had been unconsecrated, then we will come over to you: but if they lose their property, quality, and savour, and both parts of the bread do alike grow mouldy, then it will be reasonable for you to come over to us, and confess that your sacrament of the altar (so called) is neither Christ nor his flesh, nor any thing immortal or divine; for his flesh saw no corruption, Acts ii. 27. 31 — xiii. 35. 37. and his precious blood, which delivers from sin and corruption, cannot be corruptible.

*Let trial then be made hereof; but let judgment be left to just and equal arbitrators both Papists and Protestants, and that in a place where the Protestants may*

(as it was said) under a frivolous pretence, as if G. Whitehead might have been a Jesuit: and being brought before justice Francis Bacon,

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have the same power that ye have: for it would be unjust to make this trial or experiment, where ye have the whole administration of the commonwealth, and an equal liberty is denied the Protestants. This thing will make the truth manifest, and turn to the honour of God: for ye have shed much blood upon this occasion.

Wherefore suffer your Christ, whom ye have made, to be tried, that it may be seen whether he be the true Christ, or antichrist; whether he be the true God, or false one? For it would be somewhat hard that Baal's prophets should outdo you, for they were willing to have their god tried, though they had before slain many of the people of God, because they would not worship their god; as ye also have often done.

Come ye forth therefore publicly, and make trial; that it may appear at length to all Christendom, whether yours be the divine and immortal Christ and God, or no? Or is it not rather that mortal and corruptible Christ, which ye yourselves have made, and for whose sake ye have slain multitudes of the people of God, because they could not believe or comply with you.

7. Further, where did Christ or his apostles ever speak to the saints of purgatory, wherein men should be purged from their sins after death? Shew us where it is written in the New Testament. Is it not therefore a plain denying that Christ's blood purgeth from all sin, to tell the people a fable of a certain purgatory to purge them from *sins* after death? Is it not likewise a denying of Christ's baptism with the Holy Spirit, and of spiritual circumcision, and faith in Christ, which purgeth *this life* and giveth the victory?



who then was recorder of the city, he after some odd examination, demanded of them, as preachers, the fine of twenty pounds a man ;

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Did not Christ answer some that desired fire might come down from heaven and consume those that would not receive him : “ Ye know not what spirit ye are of ? Did not he rebuke them saying, “ That he came not to destroy men’s lives, but to save them ? ” Luke ix. 54, 55, 56.

Ye therefore who have destroyed such a vast number of men and women for their dissenting from you about rites and ceremonies, and taken away their lives by such kinds of instrument, racks and fires, as were never sent down from heaven, but devised and invented by yourselves : are ye not worse than they, who desired fire to be called from heaven to destroy men’s lives ? And seeing Christ told them, that they knew not what manner of spirit they were of, do ye know what manner of spirit ye are of, who have devised so many ways and torments for the killing of men, and have actually made use of them ?

With what front can ye persuade us to commit our souls, bodies, and lives to you, who know not of what spirit ye are children, neither have the mind of Christ, who said, “ He came not to destroy mens lives, but to save them ?

Are ye not all therefore, as many as take away mens lives for worship devised by you, obnoxious to the rebuke of Christ ? For when did Christ or any of his apostles ever give command, or by their example teach, that any one that was disobedient to them, or rejected their doctrine and religion, should be persecuted and imprisoned, *or punished by any carnal weapons ?* Tell us where *any thing of this kind is contained, either in the four*

which they refusing, he asked them, whether they would take the oath of allegiance; and they answering, that they could take no oath

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evangelical histories, or the epistles written to the Christian churches?

Did ever Christ or his apostles go to the rope-makers to buy whips and halters, to whip and hang men for dissenting from them as ye have done? Did they ever go to the blacksmiths to make chains, fetters, bolts and locks? Or to the gunsmiths to buy guns and muskets; or to the sword cutlers to buy swords or halberts? Did they ever build prisons, or get holes and vaults dug, to force men by such means to their religion? Shew us an example and precept given by Christ or his apostles, which commands, and makes the use of such weapons and instruments lawful.

But if ye cannot make proof thereof, it is necessary for you to confess and acknowledge, that ye are fallen and degenerated from the true Christian weapons, which the apostles and primitive Christians used, saying, "The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God," that is, spiritual, 1 Cor. x. 4.

G. Fox.

To Innocent XI. Pope of Rome, S,

"Behold, great prelate, a few questions written for the sake of thee. and thy adherents, a copy whereof we sent thee by the post, about three months ago; but being uncertain whether it was delivered into thy hands or no, we thought good to write the questions over

for conscience sake, he said, if they would neither pay the fines, nor take the oath, he would commit them to jail. They having shewed that they were no vagrants, but men of competent estates, that had settled habitations, as was well known, Bacon said, *De non apparentibus, & non existentibus eadem est ratio: i. e.* Of things not appearing, and things not in being, there is the same reason: just as if he had said, your estates that are in London (where G. Whitehead live!) and Ware (where T. Burr ūwelt) appear not at Norwich, and therefore they are not in being. Now though they shewed the absurdity of this strange kind of logic, yet Bacon would not hearken to it, but called them seducers, and seditious, and told them, there was a statute yet in force, that was made in queen

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again, and send them to thee, that it might not be long of us, that thou dost not read them. For we think it convenient, that thou shouldst earnestly concern thyself to inspect what was printed in Dutch, and inscribed to the pope and his adherents, which if thou shalt please to do, and also vouchsafe thy pains in answering them both by fact and writing, it will satisfy the author's desire, and remove a doubt or scruple out of many persons minds. Farewell.

This I have written in the name of  
some of my friends called Quakers.  
"William Sewel."

*Amsterdam, the 24th of the  
month called July, 1679,*

Elizabeth's days, to hang such persons as they were, and they asking him, if he could prosecute them upon that law, or execute it upon them? He answered, "Yes, if the king should give order to have it put in execution, I would do it, and have you hanged, if you would not abjure this realm." From this it may appear what a violent man this recorder was, and that the prisoners could not expect any good treatment from him. So night being come, he sent them to the jail.

About a month after at the quarter-sessions they were called into the court of judicature to be tried; and being brought to the bar, George Whitehead said, "We have been five weeks in prison, it is meet the court should know for what; pray let our mittimus be produced." But the recorder who sat as judge in the court, said, "There is no need of your mittimus to be read here: I will give an account of the cause." and then he told the court, how they had gathered together a company of about two hundred, and that officers went from him to dissipate them, but could not; that thereupon he sent the sheriff, who took them away: and that they being brought before him, he proffered them, if they would pay their fines, he would not commit them; and that they refusing, he tendered the oath of allegiance to them; which they not being willing to take he sent them to jail.

And though George Whitehead with good reason said, that they being Englishmen had a right to travel in any part of the nation : and T. Burr added, that he being a person that was concerned in trading in corn, by the law of England he might travel from place to place about his concerns ; yet this so displeased the recorder, that he said, had not you better have been turning your malt at home, than to come here to preach ? The Scripture says, God added to the church such as should be saved ; but ye draw from the church : and he said farther, the church of England will never be at quiet till some of you be hanged. G. Whitehead then shewing how unreasonably the recorder behaved himself, and that a judge ought not thus to inveigh against the prisoners, and threaten them, alleged to that end a notable instance, how in the case of Humphrey Stafford, an arch traitor, the chief justice Hussey had been unwilling (in compliance with the king's desire) to declare his opinion concerning him before he was judicially proceeded against. The recorder then asked, what king's reign was that in ? " In king Henry VII's." replied George Whitehead. " I perceive you are read," returned the recorder. And so he was indeed ; and he defended his *cause so well in the court*, that the magistrates *seemed at a loss* : for he shewed so evidently *that he was unjustly committed to prison*, that

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the mayor (to whom, and to the justices he had appealed) said, "You have appealed to me; truly we are tradesmen, and no lawyers: we leave matters of law to the recorder; he knows the law, and we must acquiesce in his judgment."

If I should repeat here all that was spoken pro and contra, so as I find it extant, I should be fain to be almost as large as I have been in the relation of the trials of John Crook, and William Penn: and therefore I will only say briefly, that after much reasoning the recorder tendered the oath of allegiance again to them, that so by their refusal he might get occasion to premunire them. But this recorder, before the whole process came to an end, being turned out by the magistrates, it did not come to that pitch; though it was a good while yet before the aforesaid G. Whitehead and Thomas Burr were released, after they had shewn the illegality of their imprisonment; first, by more than one warrant from the recorder, and afterward, to colour the error the better, by an order from the quarter-sessions.

This year those called Quakers at London, published a brief relation of the sufferings of their friends, since the king's restoration, and presented it to the king and parliament, shewing therein, how many had been fined by the bishop's courts, robbed of all they had, put into prisons, and there died,; the number of which was computed to be two hundred and forty three.

persons, many whereof had been so grievously beaten and wounded because of their frequenting religious assemblies, that they died of their hurts and wounds. There came forth also a printed account of the unjust proceedings of the informers, and how at their instance, without a judicial process, the accused were bereaved of their goods, the unlawfulness of which was plainly shewn from the books of eminent lawyers.

G. Fox now travelled through many places, and came to London about the time of the annual meeting: and travelling afterwards again into the country, he returned into the said city, and staid there the most part of the winter.

The parliament was then very busy with enquiring into the plot carried on by the Papists; and the house of commons especially was very active in the case, so that a bill, to exclude the duke of York from the succession to the crown, passed after the third reading: but this was opposed in the house of lords; for by a majority, among which were the bishops, who would not consent to the exclusion, the bill was rejected. Now since some ill-natured Episcopalians were very forward to place the Quakers amongst the plotters, G. Fox gave forth the following declaration.

*“It is our principle and testimony, to deny and renounce all plot and plotters against the*

king, or any of his subjects; for we have the Spirit of Christ, by which we have the mind of Christ, who came to save mens lives, and not to destroy them: and we would have the king and all his subjects to be safe. Wherefore we do declare, that we will endeavour, to our power, to save and defend him and them, by discovering all plots and plotters (which shall come to our knowledge) that would destroy the king or his subjects: this we do sincerely offer unto you. But as to swearing and fighting, which in tenderness of conscience we cannot do, ye know, that we have suffered these many years for our conscientious refusal thereof. And now that the Lord hath brought you together, we desire you to relieve us, and free us from those sufferings; and that ye will not put upon us to do those things, which we have suffered so much and so long already for not doing; for if you do, ye will make our sufferings and bonds stronger, instead of relieving us.

“George Fox.”

Not long after he also wrote a paper to all rulers and magistrates in England, Scotland, and Ireland, to dissuade them from persecution for religion. *His labour seemed not altogether ineffectual with the parliament, for about the beginning of the year 1681, the house of commons resolved,*



That it is the opinion of the house, that persecution of Protestant dissenters upon the penal laws, is at this time grievous to the subjects, a weakening of the Protestant interest, an encouragement to popery, and, dangerous to the peace of this kingdom.

But though the house of commons came to this resolution, yet it did not stop persecution; for as long as the laws (by virtue whereof they persecuted) were not repealed, which could not be done without the concurrence of the house of lords and the king, those that were malicious continued in their old way, which lasted yet three or four years.

George Fox now also came into some trouble; since he and his wife were sued for tithes, though she had lived three and forty years at Swarthmore, and in all that time no tithe had been paid nor demanded. Of this George Fox had certificates; but since they would not accept them without an oath, it made his case the more difficult. He proposed the matter to four judges in London, and found one more moderate than the other: which put a stop to what her enemies designed: And the judges wondered when they heard he had made promise *in writing, not to meddle with his wife's estate.*

*This year the king dissolved the parliament, and called a new one, to sit at Oxford, and so*

it did; but for all that he could not make it comply with his demands, and so he dissolved this also. Some time after he desired the prince of Orange to come over, who thereupon came from Holland into England, and after a short stay returned to the Hague.

It was also in this year that the king gave a country or great tract of land in America to William Penn, with a patent under the great seal, to him and his in perpetuum, since the king owed him still a considerable sum for the services of his father the admiral sir William Penn. This tract of land on the river Delaware, from the fortieth degree to the three and fortieth, with all the isles belonging to it, the king gave to W. Penn, with full power to erect a new colony there, to sell lands, to create magistrates, to make laws, not contrary to the laws of England, and power to pardon crimes; and in the patent, the king, declared that this tract of land henceforth should bear the name of Pennsylvania. This favour of the king, William Penn chiefly owed (I think) to James, then duke of York, who being chief admiral of England, sir William Penn, the father, on his dying bed desired him to protect his son against his enemies, who, because of his religion, were *like to fall hard upon him*. This the duke *promised, and performed*; and therefore it was *not without reason that William Penn afterwards*

when the said duke had ascended the throne, shewed himself ready to be serviceable to him in all that he thought might be beneficial to the kingdom. William Penn now went with much company to America, and having seen the land given him, he founded there the chief city Philadelphia, and some other towns. And that he might the more peaceably enjoy, the country, he purchased from the Indians so much land that he became proprietor of a country twice as big as all the United Provinces, as he himself once told me: and this colony increased so suddenly, that after a few years at Philadelphia there were built six hundred brick houses.

William Penn's father was deceased long before, and on his dying bed he declared that he had a gracious God, and he gave marks of a true Christian disposition of mind: he also gave his son several wholesome admonitions how to behave himself in this world. He complained much of the wickedness of the times, and was heard at sundry times to say, "Wo to thee, O England! God will judge thee, O England! Great plagues are at thy door, O England!" He also said, "God hath forsaken us. We are infatuated; we will shut our eyes. We will not see our true interest, and happiness: *we shall be destroyed.*" When he was near death, and took his leave of his relations, he said to William Penn, "Son, William, if you

and your friends keep to your plain way of preaching, and keep to your plain way of living, you will make an end of the priests to the end of the world. Bury me by my mother, live all in love, shun all manner of evil ; and I pray God to bless you all ; and he will bless you." Thus died the valiant admiral Penn, father of William Penn, proprietor of Pennsylvania : and now I return to other matters.

I left George Fox in London, and since he continued there and thereabout a good while, I will take a turn to Bristol, where in the year 1682, a dismal scene of persecution was opened : for the meetings of those called Quakers were disturbed, not only by grievously abusing and imprisoning them ; but they were also vexed by breaking, into their houses, and committing all manner of violence, as among the rest in the house of Richard Marsh, an eminent merchant in that city ; for, to get of him the fine that was pretended, first a cask of wine, worth twenty pounds, was taken, and sold for four pounds : as often it happened, that the goods thus taken were sold for less than the half, because honest people being unwilling to buy such goods, they were sold to any one that would but bid some money, how little soever : for what was wanting of the fine was taken anew from the fined person, and so they did here also ; for they broke open his counting-house, sought for money, and too

away his ledger, journal, cash-book, and other books and accounts besides many household goods; and several chambers were rifled, though the wife of the said Marsh lay in child-bed at that time. The chief actors of these insolencies were the sheriff John Knight, and John Helliard an attorney, who with his companions, Lugg, Tilley, Casse, Patrick, Hoar, and Watkins, served for informers. Knight and Helliard came frequently with a multitude of boys and rude rabble to disturb the meetings of the Quakers: and then they carried them to the prison, which grew so full, that about fifty persons were crowded into one room, which was so nasty, that one of the aldermen, viz. sir Robert Cann said, if he had a dog which he loved he would not put him there. And though sir Thomas Earl, mayor of the city, and some justices and aldermen, at the request of others, shewed themselves inclined to allow the prisoners a better place, yet the power of the aforesaid sheriff John Knight was such, that he hindered it.

The meetings of other Protestant dissenters were now also disturbed, but they fainter and gave way; whereas the Quakers stood firm, how much soever vexed: which often was *done in a very outrageous manner: for their meetings were not only disturbed often with the noise of drums and fiddles, but liberty was*

given to the vilest fellows to commit all kind of insolency, without shewing any regard to those of the female sex, whose hoods and scarves were torn; and Helliard, to give the boys a sign to attack the women, was used to say to these, have a care of your hoods and scarves; for then the boys fell upon them; and both aged women and ancient men were carried to prison, and forced to go faster than they well could, by pushing them, and pinching their arms black and blue; and when once a girl spoke a word against this cruelty, she was pulled by the hair, and haled to prison; nay, little boys were beaten on the head till they grew fiddly, and then they were carried to Bridewell, where Helliard charged the keeper to get a new set of nine tails, endeavouring to terrify the children, by making them believe they should be whipped, unless they would promise to come no more to meetings: but this succeeded not, for his extravagant malice did not subdue the constancy of these children.

Vith such diabolical rage they persecuted people at Bristol, and no stone was left unturned to afflict them. Once they were shut up in their meeting house, and thus kept it six hours; which could not but be very unreasonable since there were also women of many families, and among these the widow Cooper of sheriff Lane. So many also were

taken prisoners, that at length there was no more room in the jails. By these proceedings many families were ruined: for their goods were taken from them, not only on the account of meeting, but when any were believed to be of good estates, the oath of allegiance was tendered to them. At court it seems they were the more offended against the Quakers, because in the election of members of parliament some had voted for such as they believed to be moderate, and no favourers of popery; and therefore it was said underhand, that if Mr. Penn or Mr. Whitehead would undertake for the Quakers not to vote at the elections of parliament men, there should be no further persecution of them.

In the meanwhile the behaviour of the persecutors in the meetings was brutish in the highest degree; insomuch that a certain woman, seeing that the attorney Helliar lifted up her child by the hair of his head, and asking him, why he so abused her child, was therefore ill treated herself by him. And by order of the said Helliar a lass was committed to Bridewell, because she gave an impudent boy, that would have turned up her coats, a box on the ear; for which defending of her modesty, this brutish Helliar called her a rioter and seditious person: for he was, as hath been said already, a leader of insolent and saucy boys, which he

from time to time took along with him to disturb the meetings of the Quakers. And sheriff Knight did often with his cane very violently beat those that were met together, and once grievously abused an ancient man called Britton ; and some women were pinched violently in their arms. Susannah York an aged woman, was thrown down to the ground ; Mary Hooper was very roughly handled by Helliard, had her scarf torn off her back, and was so thrust and flung about, that she was much out of order long after ; and Mary Page, being big with child, was so violently haled out of the meeting, that her life was endangered by it. With Helliard it became customary to call men rogues, and the women whores, jades, carrions, and damned bitches ; he also bid the boys to tear their scarves and take up dirt, and throw upon them. Of this his beastly rage there were many witnesses ; for these abominable dealings displeased many people of other persuasions : but it seems these enraged fellows had encouragement at court, whereon they durst rely : for the sheriff John Knight was knighted, and thereby grew more insolent. Once it happened that Helliard having disturbed a meeting, drove the women along the streets as if they had been cattle ; and being asked, whether he made beasts of them ; he answered, “ Ye are worse than beasts : for beasts will be driven, but you will not.”



This disturbing of meetings continued till almost all the men belonging thereto were clapped up in prison ; and some of them sending a petition to the mayor and justices of the city, that they might be pleased to let them have larger rooms, since not only their health, but their lives also were endangered, the said magistrates shewed themselves inclined to allow the prisoners some ease or enlargement : but the power of sheriff Knight was such, that whatever they said or did, all proved in vain. The mayor also signified to the sheriff, that he would have all convictions made aboveboard, and not in alehouses and in taverns ; and that he would have the distrained goods brought into a public warehouse, and not in a bye-lane. But though the mayor *ex officio* might have commanded the sheriff, yet this officer was so countenanced, that he did not care for whatever the mayor said ; nay, so exorbitant was he, that his adherents began to threaten the mayor, he should not be a parliament man ; insomuch that he was forced to comply in some degree. In the meanwhile the havoc and spoil was so enormous, that generally twice as much was taken as the fine amounted to. The prisoners, some of whom lay on the floor, others in hammocks, and some in a cold and open room, exposed to the wind, and injury of the weather, *ferred* great inconveniences, and the jailor

Isaac Dennis imagining that nothing could be too bad for them, would not shew them any favour, but at a very unreasonable rate; and his wife shewed herself no less unreasonable than he, so that one extortion was at the heels of another. Four physicians of Bristol, viz. John Griffith, William Turgis, J. Chauncy, and T. Bourn, seeing how straitly the prisoners were penned up and thronged together, gave a certificate under their hands, in which they declared, that they resenting their condition with compassion, and considering what dangerous consequence such close confinement might be of, were moved to certify, that the prisoners being destitute of room for rest, it had a ready tendency to breed infectious distempers, to the endangering of their lives, &c. But all this did not avail them; it being not counted worth the while to be concerned for them. Nay, so desperately wicked was the jailor, that when the prisoners complained for want of room, he said to his man, if he could but shut the door, it would be well enough. But in due time we shall see what anguish and horror befel him.

After most of the people called Quakers in Bristol were in prison, the women who continued to keep up their religious meetings, were also seized, and confined to that degree, that at

length few or none but children, that staid with the servants in the houses of their parents, were left free. The number of the prisoners for the sake of their religion amounted now to one hundred and fifteen, and some of them were confined in Bridewell, among whom were also Barbara Blaugdone (several times mentioned before,) and Catharine Evans, who had learned at Malta what it was to suffer a tedious and hard imprisonment. It is very remarkable that children under sixteen years of age now performed what their parents were hindered from: for these children kept up their religious meetings as much as was in their power. But though they were not within the reach of the law, yet once nineteen of these youths were taken and carried to the house of correction, where they were kept for some time. And though they were threatened with whipping if ever they returned to the meeting, yet they continued valiant without fainting, although they suffered exceedingly from the wicked rabble. But so great was their zeal, that they despising all reproach and insolence, remained steadfast; and thus shewed in spite of their enemies, that God would not suffer that the Quakers meeting should be altogether suppressed, as it was intended. *This persecution continued till the next year, as it did in several other places also; for there wanted no informers, who continually*

lay in wait for prey even to such a degree, that I find that some of those called Quakers, being come from other places to a market, and being gone into an inn to refresh themselves, a snatching informer did not hesitate to declare upon his oath, that the Quakers had kept a meeting there.

But before I leave Bristol, I must give some account of a ridiculous act, performed on one Erasmus Dole, who bore the name of a Quaker. He having said that he scrupled not to declare the contents of the oath of allegiance, it was contrived, that he should speak after the clerk, and skip over such words he disliked, and pronounce another in its room, as I declare, instead of I swear. This went on, and whilst he was thus speaking, the jailor held his hand to the book, and when Erasmus had said all, put it to his mouth, to make this pass for kissing it. With this the court seemed satisfied ; and the bishop of Bristol seeing these apeish tricks, told the court, that altered it not from being an oath, at which they gloried, as having obtained a conquest. But this was but a pitiful one ; for Erasmus being a man of an irregular life, the Quakers had but little cause to regret the loss of such a member, who grew so dissolute, that in process of time they found themselves necessitated to deny him, because of his offensive conversation.

In Gloucestershire the people called Quakers were also under great sufferings by imprisonment for keeping their meetings; and the wife of one John Boy, being at a peaceable meeting at little Badmanton, was through instigation of the priest of the parish, in a violent manner dragged out of the meeting by the lord Herbert's footmen; through which abuses the woman fell sick and miscarried, to the endangering of her life; and her husband, who was also taken prisoner at the same place, was not suffered at his request to see his wife.

In Leicestershire it went no better: one Elizabeth Hill being in a meeting at Broughton, was by the rude boys dragged out, and so abused, that she was seemingly quite spent, and near dead; and lying in the dirt, one of the boys, to try whether she was still alive, put his finger into her mouth, and perceiving her to breathe, said, Let us at her again. The devil is yet in her, and we will squeeze him out." These cruel abuses made a neighbourly woman to cry out, "What will you kill the woman?" To which the boys said, "What care we? Mr. Cotton bid us do so." "Did he indeed?" asked the woman. "Ay indeed," replied the boys. "Then," said she, he may be ashamed of it." Thus these boys said that it was the parson, (*viz.* William Cotton, who was the priest of the parish) encouraged them to this excessive wick-

edness; and his man said in plain terms, his master was one of the best men in England; for if every one would serve them so, this heresy would be rooted out." And this man, whose name was Thomas Ambrose, did not hesitate to say, that nothing would drive the Quakers away, but either fire or water; and if the house was his, (meaning the house where they met together) he would burn it on their heads. More instances of such exorbitant wickedness which happened in sundry places, I could mention, if I did not study brevity.

George Fox being this year in London about the time of choosing new sheriffs for the city, he wrote a few lines to those who, standing candidates for that office, desired his friends to give their voice for them. And he said in the conclusion, "Shall we be free to serve and worship God, and keep his commands, if we give our voices for you? for we are unwilling to give our voices for such as will imprison and persecute us, and spoil our goods." The constables now in London were sent sometimes with warrants to disturb the Quakers meetings; but it was easily seen that they would rather have been freed from such a commission: for coming there, *they would bid George Fox or others that preached, to give over speaking; but they and the soldiers who sometimes came along with them, generally behaved themselves*

moderate, sufficiently shewing that they were not for persecution, and that what they did was for the sake of their office. Sometimes indeed they hindered the friends going into their meetings; but these then being thus kept out the number notwithstanding increased.

Once it happened that George Fox was stopt by the constables from going into Devonshire house meeting; and after having stood awhile in the yard, till he was weary, one gave him a stool to sit on; after a while he stood up and preached, and in his declaration said, "Ye need not come against us with swords and staves, for we are a peaceable people, and have nothing in our hearts but good will to the king and magistrates, and to all people upon the earth. And we do not meet under pretence of religion to plot against the government, or to raise insurrections; but to worship in spirit and in truth." When he had spoken what was upon him at that time, he sate down, and after a while concluded the meeting with prayer, at which the constables and soldiers as well as others put off their hats; and when the meeting was finished, a constable putting off his hat, seriously said, "The Lord bless you;" and all were suffered to pass away unmolested.

*Thus this year came to an end. All other Protestant dissenters were now suppressed; for they were restrained from exercising any public*

and some there were who, in their meetings, would pray God, that it should be his will to keep the Quakers steadfast, and that he might be as a wall about them, in order that other dissenters might not be rooted out; yet these, to render the Quakers more meritorious, had been very active in setting them in very ill colours. But the said dissenters continued now so valiant, and without regard to some of their persecutors have come to say, that the Quakers could not be overcome, and that the devil himself could not overcome them.

In the year 1683, persecution continued in the same manner; and by computation it appeared that about seven hundred of those called Quakers suffered imprisonment in England. In relation to several instances of persecution in Wiltshire, Northamptonshire, and elsewhere, to avoid being prolix, I will only refer again to Bristol, where persecution continued till: for if sometimes any of the people called Quakers came to a meeting, they were immediately committed to prison; among these was Richard Lindy, a blind man, of about seventy and ten years of age, who was carried off and forced to sit up three nights in a dark room, though others offered to pay for his confinement in some convenient place to lie down on, and he was allowed him. Some of the prisoners,



being tradesmen, would willingly have worked in prison, to earn something for their sustenance; but the jailor Isaac Dennis would not permit them that liberty. Other prisoners fell sick with the spotted fever, and some died of it; yet this did not soften the said hard-hearted jailor. But at length a heavy stroke from Heaven fell upon him. About the middle of the month of October he fell sick, and was seized with terrible anguish of mind. Then he wished he had never seen the inside of the jail; and he desired some of the Quakers to pray for him, and to forgive him for what he had done. To which they answered, "That they forgave him; but he should ask forgiveness of God." But still his anguish increased; and when the physician ordered him to be let blood, he said, "No physic would do him good, his distemper being another thing; and that no man could do him good, his day being over; and there was no hope of mercy from God for him. Some of those called Quakers seeing him in this wretched state signified, that they desired, if it were the will of the Lord, he might find a place of repentance. And it was told him, they hoped his day was not over, because he had such a full sense of his condition: to which he answered, "I thank you for your good hope; but I have no faith to believe." And he further said, "Faith is a gift of God." Whatever was spoken to

he continued in saying, that his day and there was no mercy for him. Such a worm is the guilt of conscience; in that desperate state he continued above a year and died the last of November, without any visible signs of forgiveness: but the result thereof we must commit to God.

Although the people called Quakers oppressed by sufferings all over the country, generally they continued valiant; and Fox did not omit from time to time to encourage them by letters to faithfulness and fastness, so several others of their teachers did not neglect to exhort them to persevere by word and writing; and what was remarkable, those who travelled to and from the country, and publicly preached in the name of their friends generally went free. Informers were often disappointed of a reward. I find it left upon record by Marshall, who was none of the least zealous, that though in the time when persecution was most hot, he travelled through the north and none laid hands on him, or fined him for preaching, which was the more remarkable, because he being a very zealous man, would lift up his voice in a very powerful manner. *William Dewsbury, who was now in prison, sent an epistle of consolation to his friends.*

friends, which was thought fit to be reprinted, and is as follows :

“ Dear brethren and sisters,

“ Hear the word of the Lord. Thus saith the Lord, Though you now drink the cup of adversity, and eat the bread of affliction, and are trampled upon, as though you were not worthy to live upon the earth, yet notwithstanding all the fury of men, you are resolved in the strength of my Spirit for ever to be deprived of the sweet enjoyments of wife, husband, tender children, parents, and outward possessions, liberty and life, before you deny the testimony of my name before the sons of men. Oh! you dear and tender children, who love not your lives unto death this day, that you may finish a good testimony for the glory of my name, saith the Lord God; lift up your heads in the light of my covenant, and believe in my name, for I am near unto you, saith the mighty God of safety; and let not any weight or burthen lie upon you; for I will be more than husband to wife, and more than wife to husband, or parents to children. or children to parents; yea I will be a husband to the widow and a father to the children who are deprived of their tender parents for my namesake: *I will enlarge your borders in the life of my righteousness; you that suffer in true innocency, will I refresh with the depth of my mer-*

cies ; yea, I will guard you with the angel of my presence, and all that devise mischief against you shall be confounded before the glory of my power, with which I will keep and preserve you in the word of my patience, and safety, in my presence, saith the Lord God.

“ Therefore you dear children, who drink the deepest in sufferings, think it not hard, for it is my purpose unto you all that have not any eye to self, but alone seek my glory in all you do ; I will make you more and more honourable in my life, and double my blessings upon you and yours ; for I have beheld your integrity, and my bowels are mightily moved with compassion towards you ; therefore am I risen for your sakes this day, to declare unto you my suffering people, that not an hair of your head shall perish, neither shall you be detained in prisons and desolate holes any longer than I have determined shall be for your eternal good, and the glory of my name for ever ; therefore in my life stand faithful, in resistance of every evil thought, or whatever would cause you to murmur, or desire any thing but what you know will advance my name, and the exaltation of my truth, over all that riseth up against it, in your being truly subject to the measure of my light and life, that *will not let any seek a pre-eminence or esteem amongst men : neither let self-striving nor self-serving have power in any ; but in true humility.*

love and meekness watch one over another and let the strong take the weak by the hand that you may all gently, in love, meekness, and holy fear, dread my name, and serve one another; that your love may be manifest unto me saith the Lord your God, and one unto another in the naked simplicity of your spirits; then will I make my dwelling amongst you, and with you: and my dreadful and glorious presence you shall all feel mightily in you and amongst you moving in the exercise of my spirit, to the renown of my name, and the comfort one of another; and I will crown you with heavenly blessing and the glory of my powerful life; and you shall praise my name for ever that I made you my jewels, and counted you worthy to suffer for the testimony of my name. I will go before you through all the waters and floods of afflictions; and I will appear with you before all the counsels of the sons of men: and my saving power shall compass you about in your hot and sharp afflictions, all you who have your confidence alone in me, the Lord your God. Therefore trust in my name, ye my dear children, and cast all your care upon me; and if any of you seal your testimony in the word of my patience with your blood, I will take care of your tender *wives and children, or parents, for whom your souls are poured forth in prayer unto me for their good.*

“Therefore hear my word which is  
unto you from the throne of my grace and  
glory; rejoice not too much in spi-  
rit made subject, but throw down yourself  
before me, that there be not a self-seeking  
spirit in the family of my people  
feel the birth immortal raised up in the  
renewal of my life in you all, which truly  
self of no reputation, so that all loftiness  
low, and all haughtiness bowed down  
one, that I the Lord God in you all may  
be obeyed, and exalted; who am taking  
will take to me my great power, to be  
meek upon the earth, and reign over  
pride of the children of men: (that is  
above my witness in their consciences) that  
sons may be brought from far, and my  
from the ends of the earth, in the sight of  
people, whom I will make to confess, in  
to my power, that you are the beloved  
of the most high God, and of the right  
which the Lord hath blessed; and not  
upon formed against you shall prosper,  
to nought, which will be hastened for  
your efforts, and certainly performed according  
what is here declared, to your eternal  
you shall assuredly know the mouth of  
*hath spoken it.*

“The word of the Lord, before expressed, came to me in the prison house in Warwick, the 13<sup>th</sup> day of the first month, 1664, which constrained me to send it to be read amongst you, dear, faithful, and suffering people of the Almighty God, in whom I remain your brother and companion in tribulation and kingdom of patience in the Lord Jesus Christ,

“William Dewsbury.”

Whilst persecution was on foot in England, there was some division among those called Quakers, which had its rise some years before. Those who first appeared to head it, where John Wilkinson and John Story, preachers among them, who shewed themselves discontented against George Fox chiefly about the management of church affairs, because things went not always so as they would have it: and since George Fox had been the first institutor of good order amongst his friends, he was the chief object of the envy of the mal-contented. And because in the beginning there were no such meetings, or discipline, and yet they had lived in mutual peace and unity; it was asserted, that such meetings were needless, and that every *one ought to be guided by the Spirit of God in his own mind, and not to be governed by rules of man.* By which it appeared, that they were

against the establishing any order of government in the church. But they were greatly bent against the womens meetings, who, as deaconesses, met together at set times to provide for poor families, and sick people that were in want. It is true, it was objected that in those meetings sometimes was debated what was not so convenient in every respect; because young women were admitted there also to see and learn how matters were treated by the grave and ancient women: and what if some had been a little too forward to meddle with affairs properly belonging to the men? The creeping in of a wrong use can by no means justify the abrogating what is useful: and that honest and ancient women took care for the poor and indigent members of the church, was indeed laudable. But as in great communities generally are found some men who love to govern, without being fit for it; so some of these soon adhered to Wilkinston and Story; besides several others, who in time of persecution, rather would have met privately, than come into public meetings, and so be exposed to the fury of their enemies; and such also as rather would pay tithes to the priests, &c. than suffer spoil or imprisonment for the refusal thereof.

*Hence rose a schism or rent first in the north of England, and some who went into the denomination of Separatists, began to keep meetings*



by themselves, and so to leave their former friends, though they pretended to agree with them in matter of doctrine. To these saparartists afterwards resorted such as were not strict liver, and therefore were unwilling to submit to church discipline: for this was now become the common saying of these people, That every one having received a measure of the Spirit of God, ought to regard that leader, without minding any rules prescribed by others.

In process of time William Rogers and Thomas Crisp appeared in print against their quondam brethren, and upbraided them with every imprudent behaviour, or inconsiderate act; besides that, on mere hearsay they published a multitude of untruths, and decried even lawful things; an instance of which appeared when Rogers in paltry verses scornfully reviled them, that some sustenance had been given from the public cash to indigent preachers, who to shun the neglect of their public ministry, could not duly mind their private affairs; though this supply never exceeded necessary provision. To this it was answered, that if it pleased God to call to his ministry persons of mean estate, the church was not warranted to hinder it, and let such suffer want; since he, as sovereign of the universe, could not be limited in the distribution *of his gifts.* Rogers would continually appeal *to the primitive times,* and to give some colour

to what they asserted, he and his adherents published a paper, with Edward Burrough's name in it, who had been dead above twenty years ; but G. Whitehead and others gave good proofs, that that apostate John Perrot had been the author of that so much applauded paper. At length this rent appeared also in London, where likewise mal-contents were not wanting, who not being strictly conscientious, would rather live without any restraint ; and even some that were honest, were by fair words persuaded to separation ; for among the separatists one Charles Harris preached, who was pretty fluent in speech, and not inelegant in his expressions, as I have seen and heard myself. But how specious soever the pretence of the separatists was, and whatever endeavours were made, yet they were not able to continue and subsist firmly ; but at length they decayed, and vanished as snow in the fields ; for the best among them came in time to see that they had been deceived ; and the less honest grew worse ; for among themselves they were not free from division : and though George Keith (whose apostacy will be mentioned in the sequel) endeavoured to skulk among them, yet he got no adherents there. I have often wondered how Wilkinson, Harris, and Keith (all whom I have known) could apostatize to such a degree as they did : but yet this is not so ex-

ceeding strange as some may think it to be: for we find on record, that even in the primitive apostolical church, was an Alexander the coppersmith, and an Hymeneus and Philetus, who made shipwreck of the faith, and caused a rent, insomuch that it is said, their words would eat as did a canker.

In London the meetings this year were often disturbed; but the magistrates themselves seemed not to approve of it, for they clearly saw there was nothing to be feared from the Quakers, and yet they were loath to give offence to the court party which then prevailed. G. Fox coming once to the meeting in Gracechurch street, and being kept out by the constables, stood up in the court and preached to the people; but a constable plucked him down, and afterwards let him go free. At another time having been in the meeting at the Savoy, and being brought to a justice, there was one Gabriel Shad, an informer, who was so full of impertinent talk, that the justice grew angry; and yet he thought himself bound to do something; and so asked G. Fox if he did not preach in the meeting; to which he warily answered, that he did confess what Christ had done for his soul, and did praise God; and that *he thought he might have done that in the streets, and in all places; and this he was not ashamed to confess* neither was this contrary to

the liturgy of the church of England. To this the justice said, the laws were against such meetings as were contrary to the church of England; and at length spoke of sending G. Fox to Newgate and said, he would make a mittimus after he had dined; but the constable coming then, the justice bid him come again after the evening service; which the constable doing, the justice told him, he might let G. Fox go: and next day he signified to one of G. Fox's friends that by some accident he had been disappointed of fining him.

Thus G. Fox was freed, and was now much in London, where a plot was said to be on foot against the king and the duke of York, of which the duke of Monmouth was said to be the head. This design, whatever it was, cost the lives of several persons, among whom was the earl of Essex, who unfortunately perished in the Tower, and the lord Russel, who was fain to stoop to the axe.

Now since persecution continued with some colour of justice, those called Quakers drew up the following address to the king:

### TO THE KING.

The humble Address of the people commonly  
*called Quakers.*

*" O king,*  
*" The King of kings, and Lord of the whole*

earth incline thy heart to that which is just and merciful in his sight, and to make such clear and equal distinctions, as that the innocent may not suffer in any case for the guilty ; that it may ever redound to thy honour and safety and thy peaceable subjects comfort.

“ Our innocency, love, and good will to thy person and government, that God has committed to thee, encourage us in this our humble address and application.

“ Whereas the late plot against the king, and his brother the duke of York, &c. is made an occasion to persecute many of us, for our religious meetings more severely than formerly ; we do solemnly declare, that it is known to the divine Majesty, and the all seeing wisdom whereby kings reign, and princes decree justice, that our manifold, extreme, and continued sufferings, being only on a religious account, have not been the least motive or provocation to us to desire, much less to contrive the least hurt, either to thy person or government, or to the person of thy brother the duke of York, &c. We are clear in the sight of God, angels, and men, from all hellish plots, traiterous conspiracies, and from all murderous designs and undertakings against the king, his brother, or any person on earth whatsoever, *beings works of the devil and darkness ; having contrariwise learned of Christ Jesus our Lord, by*

his light and grace in our hearts, not so much as by force to defend, much less avenge ourselves from the injuries done us, but to commit the cause to him that judgeth righteously, as peaceable followers of our Saviour and Redeemer in his patient example and sufferings, who is the Prince of peace.

“ O king, we do farther declare, that God Almighty hath taught and engaged us to acknowledge, and actually to obey magistracy, (as his ordinance) in all things not repugnant to his law and light in our consciences, (which is certainly agreeable to the holy Scripture, and admits not of any immoral or injurious actions) and that even where, through tenderness of conscience we cannot conform, it is our duty patiently to suffer, and not to rebel, nor seek revenge; and we hope, by his divine grace, ever to demean ourselves, as peaceable minded Christians, in our conversation under the civil government; and as we do sincerely, and with reverence, confess to divine power and providence in thy restoration and preservation of thy person hitherto; so our prayers and supplications are to the Almighty for thy future safety and peace, and that in a thankful remembrance of God's great mercies towards thee, *thou mayest be thereby obliged to shew mercy, and relieve the oppressed from under these unmerited afflictions and persecutions*

which a great number of us thy peaceable subjects do even at this day suffer under, in our persons and estates ; not only by laws made against; but also by laws never intended against us ; and which is more extreme, divers severities of late have been, and still are inflicted, for which no colour or pretence of law hath been, or can be alleged ; several jails being so filled, as that they want air, and many innocent persons held under extreme distress, without regard to age sex, or condition, to the loss of some lives already, and apparent hazard of many more ; if not to the endangering infection in divers cities and places in this nation ; and so many houses, shops, barns, and fields ransacked and swept of goods, corn, and cattle ; tending also to the great discouragement of trade and husbandry, and to the impoverishing of a great number of quiet and industrious people, and that for no other cause, but for their religious worship, and exercise of their tender conscience towards Almighty God that made them, who is the sovereign Lord of all, and King in men's consciences.

“ Therefore we humbly intreat thee, O king, in princely justice, Christian charity, and compassion, to open our prison doors, and take off *our bonds, whereby the innocent and oppressed in thy land, that fear God, and (in conversation) truly honour the king ; and suffer not the ruin*

of such as are quiet in the land, the widow and the fatherless for their peaceable conscience, to lie at the door of a prince, professing the tender and compassionate religion of Christ."

This address was presented to the king at Windsor, on the 8th of the month called August, in this year, by George Whitehead, Alexander Parker, Gilbert Latey, and Francis Camfield, in behalf of themselves and their friends; and it was read to him and his brother the duke of York, then present with some others: but no considerable ease followed: king Charles it seems was not to be the instrument thereof: and though that prince by nature was not hard hearted, yet there were some that could persuade him to severity.

I find about this time, that one Gabriel Shad, who had made it his business to serve as informer against the Quakers, and who had lately informed also against G. Fox. as hath been said, being confined at Newgate in London, for stealing goods from one William Leman, to the value of three hundred pounds, had been found guilty of felony at the Old Bailey; but he had such friends, that he was freed from the gallows, and having obtained the benefit of the clergy, was discharged with being burnt in the hand. *Such infamous persons were the informers; for honest men scorned to meddle with such a base and abominable work.*



This year the princess Anne, daughter of the duke of York, was married to prince George of Denmark. The duke of Monmouth having been under disgrace, came into favour again; for the king his father indeed loved him, though he was loath, in prejudice of his brother the duke of York, to declare him his legitimate son, as some great men wished he had. But the king persisted in his declaration, that he had never been married to Monmouth's mother.

In the next year, viz. that of 1684, G. Fox and Alexander Parker came into Holland, to visit their friends there; and after some stay, they returned to their native country.

In this year died Thomas Stordy of Moorhouse in Cumberland, a gentleman who twenty two years before had been condemned to a premunire, because for conscience-sake he could not swear: for which sheriff Lowther seized his estate, real and personal, for the king's use, and kept him prisoner eleven or twelve years, till discharged by the king's declaration in 1672 or 73, and his real estate restored. After which, he suffered under great fines and spoil for meeting, and after that was prosecuted on the act for 20l. a month for not coming to their worship; on which he continued prisoner several years, *till he died in December, having been made willing rather to lose all for Christ's sake, than to be disobedient to him.* This Thomas Stordy

released to the land-owners, and their heirs for ever, an impropriation of 10l. per annum, which descended to him from his father and grandfather, making conscience as well of receiving as paying tithes. Not long before his decease, he exhorted those that were come to visit him, to faithfulness: "for," said he, "if ye continue faithful to the Lord whilst ye live in this world, he will reward you, as now he rewardeth me with his sweet peace." Thus piously Thomas Sturdy departed this life, shewing forth that he was really a gentleman, whose chiefest nobility consisted in virtue. I could mention some other instances, or cases of persecution; but to make the more speed towards a conclusion, I will not detain my reader with a relation thereof.

Thomas Briggs, who also had suffered very much, having been one of the first preachers among the Quakers, and being become old and weak, about this time wrote a letter to G. Fox, in which he signified his perseverance in godliness; and not long after, viz. about the beginning of the year 1685, he died.

It was about this time also, that the king was seized with such violent fits of convulsion, that he died in the month called February. The throne by his death being become vacant, *was filled again by his brother James the second, who succeeding him, was the same day proclaimed king.* Now I cannot but take notice, that

persecution went on till the death of king Charles, and continued hot to that very instant; and he being gone off the stage, many seemed to fear that worse times were at hand, and that burning of heretics would come in vogue again, as in the former age: yet some there were who imagined that ease was like to follow; and that they guessed not amiss, time shewed.

King James had not been long at the helm of the government, but the Dissenters applied to him for liberty of worship, and among these were also the Quakers, who made the following petition:

To the King and both Houses of Parliament,  
the suffering condition of the peaceable people called Quakers, only for tender conscience towards Almighty God, humble presented.

“Shewing, that of late above one thousand five hundred of the said people, (both men and women) having been detained prisoners in England, and part of them in Wales (some of whom being since discharged by the judges, and others freed by death, through their long and tedious imprisonment) there are now remaining (according to late accounts) about one thousand three hundred, eighty and three, above two hundred

of them women. Many under sentence of pre-munire (both men and women) and more than three hundred near it; not for denying the duty, or refusing the substance of allegiance itself, but only because they dare not swear: many on writs of excommunication, and fines for the king, and upon the act for banishment: besides above three hundred and twenty have died in prison, and prisoners, since the year 1660, near one hundred whereof, by means of this long imprisonment (as it is judged) since the account delivered to the late king and parliament, in 1680: thereby making widows and fatherless, and leaving them in distress and sorrow: the two last hard winters restraint, and close confinement of great numbers in divers jails, unavoidably tending towards their destruction, their healths being evidently impaired thereby.

“And here in London, the jail of Newgate hath been from time to time crowded, within these two years, (sometimes near twenty in one room) to the prejudice of their health; and several poor innocent tradesmen, of late, have been so suffocated by the closeness of the prison, that they have been taken out sick of a malignant fever, and died in a few days after.

*“Besides these long continued and destructive hardships upon the persons of men and*

women, as aforesaid, great violences, outrageous distresses, and woful havock and spoil have been, and still are frequently made upon our goods and estates, both in and about this city of London, and other parts of this nation, by a company of idle, extravagant, and merciless informers, and their prosecutions upon the conventicle act; many being convicted and fined, unsummoned, and unheard in their own defence. As also on *qui tam* writs, at the suit of informers (who prosecute for one third part for themselves) and on other processes, for twenty pounds a month, and two thirds of estates, seized for the king; all tending to the ruin of trade, husbandry, and farmers, and the impoverishing of many industrious families, without compassion shewn to widows, fatherless, or desolate: to some not a bed left to rest upon; to others, no cattle to till their ground, nor corn for bread nor seed, nor tools to work withal: the said informers and sheriffs bailiffs in some places being outrageous and excessive in their distresses and seizures, breaking into houses, and making great waste and spoil. And all these and other severities done against us by them, under pretence of serving the king and the church, thereby to force us to a conformity, without inward conviction or satisfaction of our tender consciences, *wherein our peace with God is concerned which we are very tender of.*

“The statutes on which we, the said people suffer imprisonment, distress, and spoil, are as followeth :

“The 5th of Eliz. chap. 23. *De excommunicato Capiendo*.

“The 23d of Eliz. ch. 1, for twenty pounds per month.

“The 29th of Eliz. ch. 6. for continuation.

“The 35th of Eliz. ch. 1. for abjuring the realm, on pain of death.

“The 1st of Eliz. ch. 2. for twelve pence a Sunday.

“The 3d of K. James 1. ch. 4. for premunire, imprisonment during life, and estates confiscated.

“The 13th and 14th of K. Charles II. against Quakers, &c. transportation.

“The 22d of K. Charles II. ch. 1. against seditious conventicles.

“The 17th of K. Charles II. ch. 2. against nonconformists.

“The 27th of Hen. VIII. ch 20. some few suffer thereupon.

“Upon indictments at common law, pretended and framed against our peaceable religious assemblies, for riots, routs, breach of the peace, &c. many, both men and women thereupon fined, imprisoned, and detained for non payment, some till death. Instance, the city of Bristol, what a

great number have been these divers years straitly confined and crowded in jail, mostly above one hundred on such pretence, about seventy of them women, many aged. And in the city of Norwich, in the years 1682 and 83, about seventy kept in hold, forty five whereof in holes and dungeons for many weeks together, and great hardships have been, and are in other places. So that such our peaceable meetings are sometimes fined on the conventicle act, as for a religious exercise, and at other times at common law, as riotous, routous, &c. when nothing of that nature could ever be proved against them, there being nothing of violence or injury either done, threatened, or intended, against the person or property of any other whatsoever.

“The during and tedious imprisonments, are chiefly on the writs *de excommunicatio capiendo*, upon the judgment of premunire, and upon fines, said to be for the king.

“The great spoil and excessive distresses and seizures, are chiefly upon the conventicle act, and for twenty pounds a month, two thirds of estates, and on *qui tam* writs. In some counties, divers have suffered by seizures and distresses above eight years last past, and writs issued out for farther seizures in several counties, for twenty pounds a month, amounting to the value of many thousands of pounds, sometimes seizing for eleven months at once, and

making sale of all goods and chattels, within doors and without, both of household goods, beds, shop goods, moveables, cattle, &c. and prosecution hereupon still continued, and in divers counties much increased. So that several, who have long employed some hundreds of poor families in manufacture, and paid considerable taxes to the king, are greatly disabled from both, by these writs and seizures, as well as by long imprisonments. So many serge makers of Plymouth, as kept above five hundred people at work, disabled by imprisonment: many in the county of Suffolk, under a long imprisonment, sentenced to a premunire, one whereof employed at least two hundred poor people in the woollen manufacture, when at liberty. Omitting other instances, that we may not seem too tedious, these may evince how destructive such severities are to trade and industry, and ruinous to many poor families.

“On the conventicle act, within these two years last past, many in and about this city of London, have been extremely oppressed, impaired, and spoiled in their estates and trades, upon numerous convictions and warrants made against them in their absence, upon the credit of informations sworn by concealed informers, divers of them impudent women, who swear *for their profit in part of the fines and seizures, their husbands being prisoners for debt through*



their own extravagancies. The warrants commonly made to break open and enter houses: which is done with rigour and great spoil, not sparing widows, fatherless, or poor families, who are sustained by their daily care and industry, not leaving them a bed to rest upon. The fines upon one justice's warrants amounting to many hundreds of pounds; frequently ten pounds a warrant, and two warrants at once for twenty pounds, executed upon one person; and three warrants at once from another justice, for sixty pounds upon another person, and all his goods carried away in about ten cart loads: and five warrants at once for fifty pounds upon another, &c. besides what we have suffered by others in the like kind. And in this destructive course the informers have encouragement, and are suffered still to go on, to the ruining many families in their trades and livelihoods: divers so discouraged and disabled, that they are forced to give over their shops and trades.

“These informers being accepted for credible witnesses, yet parties, swearing for their own profit and gain, in the absence of the persons prosecuted: this we think is very hard, and undue proceeding, and not consistent with *common law or justice*.

*“As also convicting and fining us upon their depositions, unsummoned and unheard in our*

own defence, and so keeping us ignorant of our accusers, (unless upon traverse of our appeals.) This procedure appears contrary to the law of God, common justice, and equity, and to the law and justice of the ancient Romans, and of nations.

“And although it has been openly manifested, upon trial of appeals, at several quarter-sessions, both for Middlesex and London, and other places, that the depositions of divers informers have been false in fact; yet the great trouble and charge in the traverse of appeals, and the great encouragement informers have from him who grants the most warrants, hath been a discouragement to many from seeking such difficult remedy, considering also the treble costs against the appellant, in case he succeeds not, or is not acquitted upon trial; whereas there is no costs nor restitution awarded nor given against the informers, for unjust prosecution. Some also having refused to grant appeals, others denied copies of warrants to prevent appeals; which, whether this be equal or just, pray consider, ye that are wise and judicious men:—and whether it be for the king’s honour, and the people’s interest, that idle, drunken, extravagant informers, should either be encouraged or suffered to go on thus to ruin trade, husbandry, and families, or to command

and threaten justices of peace, with the forfeiture of an hundred pounds, if they do not make convictions, and issue out warrants upon their late informations, and uncertain depositions, frequently in the absence of the accused.

“And lastly, one-third part of the fines being assigned to the king, he can only remit that; but the informers and poor being assigned two-third parts, seems not to allow him to remit them, how much cause soever may appear to him, to extend his favour in that case. Is not this against the king’s prerogative, to restrain his sovereign clemency? And how far it reflects upon the government, and is scandalous thereto, for beggarly rude informers (some of them confident woman) not only to command, threaten, and disquiet justices, peace-officers, &c. but to destroy the king’s honest, industrious and peaceable subjects, in their properties and estates, is worthy of your serious considerations: and whether the said conventicle act ought not therefore justly to be repealed? A noted instance of the like case, we have, concerning the statute of the 11 Hen. VII. ch. 3. (for determining certain offences and contempts only upon informers prosecutions) being repealed in the first year of K. Hen. VIII. ch. 6. *though that, in some respects, was more tolerable than this.*

“*Be pleased to make our case your own, and*

do to us, as you would be done unto; as you would not be oppressed or destroyed in your persons or estates, nor have your properties invaded, and posterities ruined for serving and worshipping Almighty God (that made all mankind) according to your persuasions and consciences, but would, no doubt, enjoy the liberty thereof: so we intreat you to allow the same liberty to tender consciences, that live peaceably under the government, as you would enjoy yourselves; and to disannul the said conventicle act, and to stop these devouring informers, and also take away all sanguinary laws, corporal and pecuniary punishments, merely on the score of religion and conscience; and let not the ruin and cry of the widow, fatherless, and innocent families, lie upon this nation, nor at your door, who have not only a great trust reposed in you for the prosperity and good of the whole nation, but also do profess Christianity, and the tender religion of our Lord Jesus Christ.

“And notwithstanding all these long sustained extremities, we, the said suffering people, do solemnly profess and declare in the sight of the all-seeing God, who is the searcher of hearts, that as we have never been found in any *sedition or treasonable designs* (they being *wholly contrary to our Christian principle and profession*) so we have nothing but good will

and true Christian affection to the king and government, sincerely desiring his and your safety, prosperity and concurrence in mercy and truth, for the good of the whole kingdom.

“Having thus given you, in short, the general state of our suffering case, in matter of fact, without personal reflection, we, in Christian humility, and for Christ’s sake, intreat that you will tenderly and charitably consider of the premises, and find out some effectual expedient or way for our relief from prisons, spoil, and ruin.”

The following application was likewise presented.

To King JAMES the second.

The humble application of the people called Quakers.

“Whereas is hath pleased Almighty God (by whom kings reign) to take hence the late king Charles the second, and to preserve thee peaceably to succeed; we thy subjects heartily *desire, that the giver of all good and perfect gifts, may please to endue thee with wisdom and mercy in the use of thy great power, to his*

glory, the king's honour, and the kingdom's good: and it being our sincere resolution, according to our peaceable principles and conversation, (by the assistance of Almighty God) to live peaceably and honestly, as becomes true and faithful subjects under the king's government, and a conscientious people, that truly fear and serve God; we do humbly hope that the king's tenderness will appear and extend, with his power to express the same; recommending to his princely clemency, the case of our present suffering friends hereunto annexed.

### To the KING.

The distressed Case and request of the suffering people called Quakers, humbly presented.

“Shewing,

“That according to accounts lately given, above fourteen hundred of the said people, both men and women are continued prisoners in England and Wales, only for tender conscience towards Almighty God that made them: many under sentence of premunire, and many near it, not for refusing the duty or substance of allegiance itself, but only because they dare not swear; others under fines upon the act of banishment, many on writs of excommunication; besides

some hundreds have died prisoners, many by means of this long imprisonment since the year 1680, (as it is judged) thereby making widows and fatherless, and leaving poor innocent families in distress and sorrow : these two hard winters confinement, tending also to the destruction of many in cold holes and jails, their health being greatly impaired thereby : besides the violent and wonderful spoil made by merciless informers on the conventicle act, upon many convicted, unsummoned and unheard in their own defence, both in city and country, as also on *qui tam* writs, and other processes, on twenty pounds a month, and two thirds of estates seized for the king, all tending to the ruin of trade, husbandry, and industrious families ; to some not a bed left ; to others no cattle to till their ground, or give them milk ; nor corn for bread or seed ; nor tools to work withal. And also these and other severities done under pretence of serving the king and church, thereby to force us to violate our consciences, and consequently to destroy our souls, which we are very tender of, as we are of our peace with God, and our own consciences, though accounted as sheep for the slaughter : and notwithstanding all these long sustained extremities, we the said people do *solemnly profess* and declare in the sight of the *heart Searcher*, that we have nothing but good *will and true affection* to the king, praying for

his safety, and the kingdom's peace. We never been found in any seditious or treason designs, as being wholly contrary to our Christian principles and holy profession."

"And knowing that where the word king is, there is power, we in Christian humility, and for Christ's sake, intend that the king will please to find out expedient for our relief in these circumstances from prison, spoil, and ruin, and we (as in duty bound) pray God for the king's welfare in this world, and his eternal happiness in that which is to come."



An account of the number of the said prisoners called Quakers, in the several counties.

Prisoners.		Prisoners.	
Bedfordshire	30	Leicestershire	37
Berkshire	37	Lincolnshire	12
Bristol	103	London & Middlesex	66
Buckinghamshire	19	Norfolk	52
Cambridgeshire	8	Northampton	59
Ely	11	Nottinghamshire	6
Cheshire	9	Oxon	17
Cornwall	32	Shropshire	18
Cumberland	22	Somersetshire	36
Derbyshire	1	Southampton	15
Devonshire	104	Staffordshire	1
Dorsetshire	13	Suffolk	79
Durham	39	Surry	29
Essex	10	Sussex	17
Gloucestershire	66	Warwickshire	31
Hertfordshire	18	Westmoreland	5
Herefordshire	1	Wiltshire	34
Huntingdonshire	10	Worcestershire	15
Kent	16	Yorkshire	279
Lancashire	73	Wales	30
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	622		838
	<hr/>		<hr/>
<i>Delivered to the king the</i>		<i>Sum of Prisoners 1460</i>	
<i>3d of the first month,</i>			
<i>called March 1685.</i>			

This list, with the aforesaid petition to the king and parliament, was not altogether ineffectual: for there was much talk now of liberty of conscience; but since all the liberty that was enjoyed was only precarious, it could be but little depended upon; yet many seemed to be in expectation that some grant of that liberty would be published in print; and thus it became a common saying, that liberty of conscience was in the press, which being an equivocal signification, sometimes afforded matter of sport. But many of the episcopal church were so strongly bent to withhold that liberty from other Protestants, that there were no ill grounded reports, that some in authority had promised the king, to give their vote for liberty of conscience to the Papists, provided it was not granted to other dissenters. Nevertheless the above said petition of the Quakers had such effect, that the king resolved to ease them from the burthen of their oppression, by way of pardon; for thus far his power reached; but the abrogating of laws could not be done without the consent of parliament, which grew jealous, that by the repeal of those laws, the Papists, who now had a king of their own religion, would be too powerful. In the meanwhile the king published the following proclamation :

“James R.

“Whereas our most entirely beloved brother the late king deceased, had signified his intention to his attorneys general for the pardoning such of his subjects who had been sufferers in the late rebellion for their loyalty, or whose parents or nearest relations had been sufferers in the late rebellion for that cause, or who had themselves testified their loyalty and affection to the government, and were prosecuted, indicted, or convicted for not taking, or refusing to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, or one of them, or had been prosecuted upon any writ, or upon any penalty, or otherwise, in any of the courts of Westminster-Hall, or in any of the ecclesiastical courts, for not coming to church, or not receiving the sacrament :

And whereas the several persons, whose names are mentioned in the schedule annexed to this our warrant, have produced unto us certificates for the loyalty and sufferings of them and their families :

“Now in pursuance of the said will of our said most dear brother, and in consideration of the sufferings of the said persons, our will and pleasure is, that you cause all process and proceedings, *ex officio*, as well against the said persons mentioned in the said schedule hereunto annexed, as against all other persons as shall

1685.

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

hereafter be produced unto you, to be  
superseded and stayed; and if any  
persons be decreed or denounced  
excommunicated, or have been so certified, or  
upon the writ *de excommunicato c*  
any of the causes aforesaid, our plea  
you absolve, and cause such persons  
solved, discharged, or set at liberty,  
process or proceedings whatsoever  
made in any court against any of the  
persons for any cause before-mentioned  
pleasure therein be further signified

“ Given at our court at Whitehall  
the 24th of April, 1685, in the first  
reign.

“ To all archbishops and bishops  
chancellors and commissioners  
all archdeacons and their  
all other ordinaries and persons  
exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction

“ By his majesty's command

“ S

This was the king's first step to  
the relief of conscience, as well for Papist  
persons mentioned in the schedule  
*which put an effectual stop to per  
the power of the informers was*

broken. And since the most of these were generally base fellows, and profligate persons who did not care what they did, provided they might enrich themselves, they often dealt treacherously even with the persecuting justices ; who also were eager for having part of the prey, and yet by the artifices of these rapacious wretches were deprived of it, which some of them now smarted for. Among the rest, I find that one John Hilton was committed to jail, as may appear from this warrant of the recorder.

To the keeper of Newgate.

“ Receive into your custody the body of John Hilton, herewith sent you, being charged upon oath before me, for compounding several warrants under my hand and seal, for levying of several sums of money of persons convicted for being at several conventicles in Kent, London and Middlesex : and being also indicted for the same in the several counties aforesaid, and the bills found against him ; and also that he the said John Hilton, hath refused to obey the right honourable sir Edward Herbert, lord chief justice’s warrant. And him safely keep *until he shall be discharged by due course of law.* And for so doing this shall be your duty.

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5. Dated the 23d of December, 1685.  
"Tho. Jenner, recorder."

notice be given to me before he be  
urged."

the informers met with a stop, and the  
ited Quakers, got some rest; for per-  
not only ceased, but many, who for  
sake had been several years kept in  
obtained liberty by the favour of a  
prince, which they had not been able to  
his brother, king Charles the second,  
ny of the fierce persecutors came to  
come to poverty, and others to a  
end, of which no small number of  
might be produced, if I were minded  
: however I will mention one or two.  
ard Davis, who once professed to be a  
t not being sincere, found that way  
for him, and so left his friends,  
wards, being become keeper of the  
chester in Somersetshire, he vexed  
usly; and from mere malice fettered  
g to John Whiting and another,  
hand-bolted together, those bolts  
taken off if lice did eat them up.  
ade Joseph Newberry was but  
when somebody told him, that  
well with the irons, he said, he

did not care if their hearts did swell also. And when one John Dando once asked Davis, what he thought would become of him when he came to die ; he answered, that he knew what would become of him then, and therefore he would make the best of his time now. Also, that he knew where he went out, and where he must come in again, if ever he was saved : and if he thought he should never return again, he would be as wicked as he could. Truly a most desperate saying, just as if the door of mercy always continued open for man, and the day of visitation of God's love never past over his head, though he persevered in rebellion. But this Davis came to a most pitiful state, so that he fell into poverty; and was himself imprisoned for debts, of which more hereafter. And Newberry fell into a sad condition, being taken with a severe palsy, and yet he did not leave off cursing, and swearing, talking of the devil in a dreadful manner. And by laying long in bed, the flesh rotted on his back, and he who had formerly said concerning the hand-bolted prisoners, he did not care if their hearts did swell, got now such a sore tongue, that it swelled out of his mouth, and grew black, and so he died miserably on the tenth of December. Thus *God sometimes punisheth the wicked even in this life.* And though persecutors come not *always to such a miserable end,* yet many of

these fell into poverty, and others were discontented because they saw that those whom they had cruelly persecuted, now enjoyed an undisturbed liberty ; for the king who was now on the throne, continued to give liberty to those that had been oppressed for religion.

But before I say more of this I cannot but mention something of the design of the unhappy duke of Monmouth, who at the death of his father king Charles the second was gone to Brussels ; and being come from thence into Holland, he was spurred on so vigorously by some hot headed Englishmen, that having got money and assistance of mal-contents, he went over to England with three men of war and some forces, having given forth a declaration against king James which vented a fiery passion towards that prince, and was written, as I have been credibly told, by the violent Robert Ferguson. Monmouth being landed with his forces in the west of England, near Lime, and afterwards routed by the king's troops, was taken prisoner by the perfidiousness of a certain lord, who thereby obtained pardon for himself ; but Ferguson escaped by a cunning artifice, crying along the road where he came galloping on horseback, the rebels are routed, the rebels, are routed, *just as if he had been a courier sent on purpose to court and elsewhere. But thus he escaped, and being come again into Holland*



he told this crafty trick to his acquaintance. Monmouth having been declared guilty of high treason by a bill of attainder, as soon as the news came of his design, was but two or three days after his arrival at London, beheaded. I count it not unworthy to be mentioned, that he undauntedly received the news of the death warrants being come; and on the scaffold on Tower Hill he told the bishops that accompanied him, "If I had no true repentance, I should not be so free from the fear of death." And when it was objected, that he ought not to rely too much on that, since that might be the effect of natural courage, he said, "No; I do not ascribe this to my nature; for naturally I am more fearful than others; but now I am freed from fear; because I feel something in me, which gives me assurance that I shall go to God." The executioner gave him several strokes with the axe, before the head was severed from the body; and some ecclesiasticks afterwards said, he died an enthusiast: for not shewing himself very ready to comply with their service, and his saying, that something within him, assured him that he should go to God, seemed to them an enthusiastical tenet. But whatever it was, yet it seems very probable to *me, that he was a true penitent, and so died in peace; for though I cannot but disapprove his design, yet by true repentance he might not*

only have obtained forgiveness of God, but also have had a full assurance of it.

The earl of Argyle, who rebelled in Scotland against king James, had no better lot: but I will not detain my reader therewith, neither with a relation of the dismal execution of many, who having been found guilty of high treason, either for actual rebellion, or for having been abettors of Monmouth, were sentenced to death by the infamous Jefferies, who then was lord chief justice, and afterwards chancellor; the fierceness or cruelty of this judge being such, that some lost their lives only for having given some hay or victuals to Monmouth's soldiers. But this not being within my circuit, I will pass it by, and go over to the year 1686.

Therefore leaving England, I will take a turn to Embden, in East Friesland, where a small company of those called Quakers had been under a severe persecution for several years, as I have hinted before. But the magistrates having persecuted by the instigation of their preachers, the citizens began to be displeased with it. And since the Protestants in France were now persecuted violently, and a popish prince had mounted the English throne, those at Embden grew more inclined to moderation. Probably the decay of trade also contributed a little to *this change*; for it appeared that the magistrates were for getting more inhabitants into their

town, though they should be Quakers; and this was counted a matter of such moment, that the common council deliberated on the subject; and two of the members of that board, viz. Polman and Bonhuyren, were sent to Magdalena van Loar, an inhabitant of Embden, desiring her to write to England and Holland, that the magistrates of the city had resolved to give liberty to the people called Quakers, to live, trade, and traffic there; which grant they proffered to confirm with the city seal. According to their desire notice was given to those of that persuasion at Amsterdam, from whence an answer being returned to the said Magdalena van Loar, she gave it to the counsellor Polman, and he delivered it to the senate. After some deliberation, the magistrates with the council of forty, and the ecclesiastical court met together, and came to a resolution, of which a copy was sent to Amsterdam. In this writing were mentioned some conditions on which the magistrates at Embden were willing to grant liberty to the Quakers to live in their city. But those of that society at Amsterdam, having weighed and duly considered the thing, found that the proposal contained some expressions, which by others, who afterwards might come to the helm, and *not to be so moderate as these at present, might be used as snares against the Quakers, if they now should enter upon such terms as were pre-*

scribed. Therefore it was thought more safe not to enter into any engagement, whereby great inconvenience might afterwards attend their friends, when the magistracy came to be in other hands. Yet the conclusion was, to acknowledge the good intention of the magistrates of Embden, by drawing up the following letter, and sending it to them.

To the Lords, Burgomasters, Counsellors, and Rulers of the City of Embden.

“These are to acquaint you with due respect, that a scheme or plan of yours, dated the  $\frac{16}{26}$  of February, 1686, is come to our hands, which having been perused by us, we have thought it, convenient in the fear of the Lord, to send you the following answer.

“First we thank God Almighty for the ease and liberty which our friends at present enjoy under your government, and are like to enjoy in the future. And, secondly, we cannot but acknowledge very acceptably your clemency and meekness, which ye shew by taking notice of the state of a despised and oppressed people, who because of their way and worship, differing from the many *ways in the world*, are gainsayed every where. *And therefore it is that we are the more stirred up in our minds to pray fervently to the Lord God*

for your peace and prosperity, and the continuance of your good resolution; that so all those who serve the Lord in uprightness of heart may lead a peaceable and godly life among you, by shewing forth the fruits of true Chistianity in truth, sincerity and righteousness. Now as to what ye have been pleased to declare, that ye were willing to confirm the aforesaid your good resolution by a public act, we let you know, that we are so well satisfied with your word and oral declaration concerning the aforementioned thing, that this is more to us than any thing we could further desire, as knowing that good men think themselves bound by their good words to perform what is good. And since ye are sensible on what ground ye came to the aforesaid resolution, and declared yourselves thus, we doubt not but the same persuasion and reason continuing with you, will prove a more strong engagement to you to perform the same, than any outward seal can be. And in that engagement we were willing to acquiesce, and should not have mentioned any other, unless some among you, as we have been informed, first had made mention thereof. And as to what ye demand of us, we declare in the nakedness and simplicity of our hearts, that in regard *of our temporal conversation and deportment, we desire no protection, than when we deal righteously to all, and walk according to that*

golden rule, that we do unto all men, what we desire should be done to us. And concerning our religion and worship, which we believe we owe to Almighty God, it is thus : That since it differs from other persuasions, it makes us obnoxious not only to the mockings and revilings of ignorant people, but exposeth us also to the malice and envy of many, who hate us without a just cause; and therefore it is that we stand in need of your favourable interpretation, and your best construction of what we do, and what we leave undone. And if we should err in those matters, we shall be the greatest losers by it; and if truth be on our side, then our adversaries shall not be able to prevail; for truth is the strongest, and it is not good for any to fight against it. Howsoever then it may be with us in this matter, yet we hope that ye will be pleased, if we behave ourselves peaceable and honest towards you and all men, to let us be partakers with our peaceable neighbours, of your general protection. And though ye might please to give us a public act of your aforesaid resolution, yet we clearly foresee, that it would be hardly possible to use such expressions, that our enemies, by some wrestling or other of the words, or a wrong interpretation of the *expressions contained therein*, should not be *able to make us esteemed guilty of transgression, and so find matter against us.* And therefore

we think it very safe to rely on your word, and good resolution, in which it hath pleased you to declare, that we shall enjoy liberty to live and trade in your city, provided we pay custom and taxes, which other citizens are subject to; and that then we shall be at liberty to meet together to worship God in such a way as he hath convinced us we ought to do, and to call upon him, and to exhort one another to love and good works, and a Christian conversation. And on your behalf it will tend to the praise of the magistrates, that ye favour us in this. And it will also be to the promoting of God's glory; and will oblige us to pray for you, that the Lord God may be pleased to preserve you, and to make you continue in such a good, wholesome, and well grounded resolution. We are, and rest,

“ your true friends and well-wishers,

“ Barent van Tongeren,  
William Sewel,  
Jacob Claus,  
Stephen Crisp,  
John Roelofs,  
John Claus.  
Peter Hendriksz.”

Amsterdam, the  $\frac{9}{19}$  of  
*the 3d month alias*  
*March, 1686.*

In answer to this, the senate sent the following resolution to the subscribers of the aforesaid letter, being, as appears by the contents, the decree of the senate, so as it was entered into their records, of which the authentic copy signed by the city's secretary, is in my custody.

*Lunæ  $\frac{15}{25}$  Martii, 1686.*

“Received a letter on the  $\frac{19}{22}$  instant, written at Amsterdam the  $\frac{9}{19}$  of the same month, and signed by Barent van Tongeren, William Sewel, Jacob Claus, Stephen Crisp, John Roelofs, John Claus, Peter Hendriksz, in answer to our resolution of the  $\frac{16}{26}$  of February last, with thanks for the promised admission and protection of this city, in their free trade, and the exercise of their religion, without offending any, signifying thereby also that they will be content without an act under seal, and willing to rely on our words. This having been under deliberation, it was thought meet, and resolved, that our word shall effectually be kept to the rescribers, and all others of their persuasion, and that the promised protection shall be really performed.

“*Ad mandatum senatus speciale,*

“O. Hillings, Sec.”

*Thus it pleased the senate of Embden*



give, to those called Quakers, liberty to dwell among them, with the free exercise of their religion. Sometime after, it happened that the burgomaster Andrews coming to the house of Magdalena van Loar, and the preacher Alardyn, to the house of her daughter Magdalena Haasbaant, desired both that they would cause what the senate had resolved, to be written to England, that so it might be known there, that if any of the Quakers persuasion would come over, and settle at Embden, they should be well received there.

Hereby we see how God hath the hearts of all men in his hands, and that he turneth them whithersoever he will: for the magistrates of Embden, had some years before from a blind zeal, kindled by those who ought to have stopped it, given forth very severe edicts against the Quakers, and persecuted them fiercely; but now they allowed them an entire liberty.

But leaving Embden, I turn again to England, where persecution by this time also came to a stand, insomuch that the king ordered that all such imprisoned Quakers as it was in his power to release, should be set at liberty; for those that were in prison for paying tithes, &c. were under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which *was out of the king's reach*. But many others, *who had been in custody several years, appeared now in London in the annual meeting of*

Friends, to the great joy of their brethren: when some of these went to thank the king for his favour, they were kindly admitted; and by his Majesty he drew their inclination towards him: his Majesty's endeavours were now, as he said, to procure about a complete liberty of conscience. His Majesty's aim was, I am not to investigate, for he never attained to it. In the meanwhile he desired the persecution generally to cease, not only in England, but also in others places of his dominions: for having heard that the Quakers in Barbadoes in the West Indies were much molested, because for conscience sake they could not bear arms, he ordered some members of his council to write the following letter.

For our hearty commendations, his Majesty having been pleased to refer unto us the petition of the Quakers inhabiting in the Barbadoes, we have thought fit hereby to pray and command you to examine the allegations of the petitioners and papers hereunto annexed. Such as his Majesty having lately expressed his favour to those people here, may be continued the same towards them in the future. In the mean time, we desire you to report unto us what may be given them in reference to the petition, and the penalties thereby imposed, as it may consist with the safety of the Kingdom, and the preserving of the militia.

according to the intention of the said act. And so we bid you heartily farewell.

“ Your loving friends,

“ Jefferies,

“ Craven,

“ Albemarle,

“ Middleton.”

From the Council chamber,  
Whitehall, the 23d July, 1686.

From this letter it appears plainly that the king endeavoured to relieve the Quakers from that burthen of persecution they were under. The following letter is also a proof of it, written by the earl of Sunderland (then, as I think, president of the privy council) to the earl of Huntington, to stop the persecution in Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire, where one John Smith had acted most grievously:

“ My lord,                      Whitehall, Dec. 7, 1686.

“ The king being informed that one John Smith, a common informer, doth very vexatiously persecute the Quakers in the county of Leicester, and in the town and county of Nottingham; and his majesty being pleased to *extend his favour* to those of that persuasion, *his majesty would have your grace direct the*

justices of peace to give no sort of countenance to the said John Smith, and his prosecution against the Quakers.

“My lord, I am for his grace the duke of Newcastle, one of his majesty’s most honourable privy council, &c.

“Your grace’s most faithful and humble servant

“Sunderland, P.”

To the right honourable the earl of Huntington, one of his majesty’s most honourable privy council, chief recorder of Leicester, custos rotulorum of the county of Leicester.

The king being thus inclined to give liberty to prisoners, those who were in custody for religion, neglected no opportunity to obtain it; of which the following petition is an evidence;

by chief justice Herbert, and judge Wright, assigned to hold assizes and jail delivery for the western circuit, at Wells, for the county of Somerset, the thirtieth of the month called March, 1686.

“Several of the people called Quakers, now prisoners in the jail at Ivelchester, in the county of Somerset, on behalf of themselves and many others of the same people, in humility shew,

“That since the wise Disposer of all things hath ordered your employment in this honourable service, to relieve the oppressed, and deliver the captives; and since king James II. that now is, hath committed part of his clemency to your custody, to distribute the same, according as the Lord hath inclined his heart; and having taken particular notice of our sufferings, and signified his will and pleasure, that we, the people commonly called Quakers, should receive the full benefit of his general pardon, with all possible ease; which grace and favour we, with all thankfulness, acknowledge to God as the chief author, who hath the hearts of kings at his disposal; and to the king, as being ready herein to mind that which the Lord inclined his heart unto; and not without hope to find the like opportunity to render to you our hearty thanks, for the full accomplishment of that which our God allows, and the king so readily grants us: and also hearing the *report of your nobility and moderation, in managing this weighty trust committed to you, we are emboldened thus to address ourselves,*

ough in plainness of speech, yet in sincerity of heart, to lay before you, that we have for several years been prisoners in the jail aforesaid, not for any plotting against the king or government, or harm done to his subjects; our peaceable lives have manifested our fidelity to the king, and love to our neighbours, it being contrary to our principles to do otherwise: but only for conscience sake, because in obedience

Christ Jesus we dare not swear at all, or bear to worship God, as he hath ordained, or conform to those worships which we have no faith in; which to omit the one, or practise the other, we should therein sin, and so wound our consciences, and break our peace with God; and what good then should our lives do, if we might enjoy never so much of the world's favour and friendship.

“Our humble request therefore to you is, to consider and compassionate our suffering condition, and improve the power and authority that God and the king hath entrusted you withal, for our relief and liberty; we still resolving, and hoping, (through God's assistance) for the future, to manifest our fear to God, honour to the king, and honesty to all his subjects, by our godly, humble, and peaceable conversation. The particular cases of our imprisonments

are herewith attested, under our keeper's hand. And we further pray, that mercenary informers, and envious prosecutors against us, only for conscience sake, may, according to your wisdom and prudence, be discouraged from prosecuting such actions; by which many industrious and conscientious families and persons are in danger of being ruined; and we encouraged in our diligence in our respective callings, and may enjoy the benefit of our industry; and so shall we be the better enabled to perform with cheerfulness the duties we owe to God, the king, and all men. The Lord guide you in judgment, and more and more incline your hearts to love mercy, and do justice, and grant you the reward thereof; which is truly our desire and prayer."

This petition was signed by sixteen persons, some of whom had been imprisoned sixteen, others ten, and some fewer years: and to the time of their imprisonment was added, on what account, viz. on premunire, excommunication, and for tithes, &c. And it had such effect, that chief justice Herbert discharged these prisoners; but before this was done, several of those *that had been imprisoned there, died. Many also were set at liberty by the king's proclamation; and it was indeed an unusual thing to enjoy*

such a free liberty, that the malicious persecutors were restrained by the higher power.

George Fox was now mostly in and about London, endeavouring to bring all things among his friends into good order; and therefore he wrote several papers since he could not be every where in person, and discharge himself by word of mouth. And lest carelessness should creep in, by reason of the liberty that was now enjoyed, he wrote the following epistle to his friends :

“ Friends !

“ The Lord by his eternal power hath opened the heart of the king to open the prison doors, by which about fifteen or sixteen hundred are set at liberty ; and hath given a check to the informers : so that in many places our meetings are pretty quiet. So my desires are, that both liberty and sufferings, all may be sanctified to his people ; and his friends may prize the mercies of the Lord in all things, and to him be thankful, who stilleth the raging waves of the sea, and allayeth the storms and tempests, and maketh a calm. And therefore it is good to trust in the Lord, and cast your care upon him, who careth for you. For when ye were in your jails and prisons,, then the Lord did by his eternal arm and power uphold you, and sanctified them to you, (and unto some he had made them



as a sanctuary;) and tried his people, as in a furnace of affliction, both in prisons and spoiling of goods. And in all this the Lord was with his people and taught them to know that the earth was the Lord's, and the fulness thereof; and that he is in all places; who crowneth the year with his goodness, Ps. lxxv. Therefore let all God's people be diligent, and careful to keep the camp of God holy, pure, and clean: and to serve God, and Christ, and one another, in the glorious peaceable gospel of life and salvation: which glory shines over God's camp; and his great prophet, and bishop, and shepherd is among or in the midst of them, exercising his heavenly offices in them: so that you his people may rejoice in Christ Jesus, through whom you have peace with God. For he that destroyeth the devil and his work, and bruises the serpent's head, is all God's people's heavenly foundation and rock to build upon; which was the holy prophets and apostles rock in days past, and is now a rock of our age; which rock and foundation of God standeth sure. And upon this the Lord God establish all his people. Amen.

“George Fox.”

*London, the 25th of the 7th  
Month, 1686.*

In this year David Barclay died at Ury in Scotland. Before his departure he uttered many excellent expressions indeed. I may not omit to mention some particulars. In the latter end of September, being past the 76th year of his age, he was taken with a fever, which continued two weeks; and being much troubled with the gravel, his sickness was accompanied with pain in making water. Two days before his death, feeling his weakness, and being in an agony, he said to his son Robert, who was with him, "I shall now go to the Lord, and be gathered to many of my brethren who are gone before me." On the 11th of October very early in the morning, he growing weaker, he said Robert Barclay signified to him, that his travail was, that He that loved him might be near him to the end. To which he answered, "The Lord is nigh." And a little after he said, "The perfect discovery of the day spring from on high, how great a blessing it hath been to me and my family!" "Robert Barclay's wife asking if he would have something to refresh him, he said it needed not; and laying his hand upon his breast, he said, he had that inwardly that refreshed him. A little while after, he was heard several times to say, "The truth is over all:" and taking his eldest son to him, he blessed him, and said he prayed God he might never depart

from the truth. Then his son's eldest daughter coming near, he said "Is this Patience?" (for that was her name) "Let Patience have its perfect work in thee." And after kissing the other four of his son's children, he laid hands upon them, and blessed them. His apothecary that attended him coming also near, he took him by the hand, and said, "Thou wilt bear me witness, that in all this exercise I have not been curious to tamper nor to pamper the flesh." To which the apothecary said, "Sir, I can bear witness that you have always minded the better and more substantial part; and I rejoice to see the blessed end the Lord is bringing you to." To this the sick man replied, "Bear a faithful and true witness: yet it is the life of righteousness, the life of righteousness it is, that we bear testimony to, and not to an empty profession." Then he called several times, "Come, Lord Jesus, come, come!" And said also, "My hope is in the Lord." Afterwards he slept now and then for some hours; and seeing a carpenter coming into the room, he said to his son, "See thou charge him to make no manner of superfluity upon the coffin." In the afternoon several of his friends came to see him, which he having observed, said they were come in a *seasonable time*; and after some words were spoken, and that Patrick Livingstone had prayed, which ended in praises, the sick old man held

up his hands, and said, "Amen, amen, for ever!" And after those that were present stood up, he said, "How precious is the love of God among his children, and their love to one another! Thereby shall all men know that ye are Christ's disciples, if ye love one another. How precious a thing it is to see brethren to dwell together in love! My love is with you." I leave it among you." Several of his friends, pretty late at night, standing about the bed, and perceiving, some of them to weep, he said, "Dear friends, all mind the inward man, heed not the outward. There is one that doth reward, the Lord of Hosts is his name." Next morning, after he had heard the clock strike three, he said, "Now the time comes." And a little after he was heard to say, "Praises, praises, praises to the Lord! Let now thy servant depart in peace. Into thy hands, O Father, I commit my soul, spirit, and body. Thy will, O Lord be done in earth, as it is in heaven." These sentences he spoke by little intervals, one after another; and soon after five in the morning, the 12th of October, he slept in peace and quiet, there being present at his end above twenty persons, who were witnesses to what hath been here related. His corpse was attended to the grave by numerous followers; and though he had ordered not many to be called to his burial, yet a great num-

ber of the gentry came uninvited, from an esteem they bore to his memory.

In this year also Anne Downer departed this life, one of the first of those called Quakers in London; she had been married first to Benjamin Greenwel, and was afterwards wife to George Whitehead. Being taken ill, she removed to a place out of London, and her sickness increasing, she perceived it was like to take her away. Her ancient friend Mary Stout, visiting her, asked her, if she knew her, she said, "Yes very well, it is Mary Stout. I have my memory very well, and my understanding is clear, though I am very weak; but I am given up unto the will of the Lord, whether to die, or to live: for I have been faithful to him in what I knew, both in the life and death." Perceiving some to be troubled concerning her, she said, "There, is no cause for to be troubled or concerned; for I am well and in peace." Many Christian exhortation she gave on her dying bed, and said to some of her friends who came to visit her, "What do ye come on purpose to see me! I take it an effect of the love of God, and I pray God bless your children." To another she was heard to say, "If I never see thy face more, it is *with me: God doth know my integrity, how I have been, and walked before him.*" *evening before she died she said to her hu*

George Whitehead, &c. "The Lord is with me, I bless his name. I am well ; it may be you are afraid I shall be taken away and if it be, the will of the Lord be done. Do not trouble yourselves, nor make any great ado about me. But my dear, go to bed, go to rest ; and if I should speak no more words to thee, thou knowest the everlasting love of God." She was heard also to say, that she had done with all things in this life, and she had nothing troubled her, but was at true peace and ease every way. And a few hours before she departed, she said, " Though I am in a dying condition, ye it is a living death : for though weakness seizes the body, yet my understanding is as clear, as when in health." Thus she departed this life, quietly, about the age of sixty-three years, having been a woman well gifted, and very serviceable to the church, not only with wholesome exhortations, but also by her Christian care for the sick and poor, and for widows and orphans : who by her decease lost an eminent mother.

About this time George Fox wrote several general epistles (some of which were pretty large) to his friends, exhorting them to shun strife, to keep to *mutual love and unity, and to mind true piety*. He wrote many other *edifying papers* ; and since the Papists now *appeared barefaced, and performed their worship*

publicly, and there was much talk of their praying to saints, and by beads ; in the year 1687, he emitted the following paper concerning prayer, not fearing to contradict openly that which he judged to be superstition, though the king himself was of the popish religion.

“ Christ Jesus, when he taught his disciples to pray, said unto them, “ When ye do pray, say, Our Father, which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name,” &c. Christ doth not say, that they should pray to Mary the mother of Christ ; nor doth he say, that they should pray to angels, or to saints, that were dead. Christ did not teach them to pray to the dead, nor for the dead. Neither did Christ or his apostles teach the believers to pray by beads, nor to sing by outward organs : but the apostle said ; he would sing and pray in spirit : for the spirit itself maketh intercessions ; and the Lord, that searcheth the heart, knoweth the mind of the spirit.

“ To take counsel of the dead, was forbidden by the law of God ; but they were to take counsel of the Lord : and he hath given Christ in the new covenant, in his gospel-day, to be a counsellor and a leader to all his believers in his *light*. And men are not to run to the dead for *the living* : for the law and testimony of God *orbids it*. Those Jews, that refused the run-

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ning waters of Shiloh, the floods and waters of the Assyrians and Babylonians came over them, and carried them into captivity : and they that refuse the waters of Christ, they are overflowed with the flood of the world, that lieth in wickedness. They that asked counsel of stocks and stones, their state was in the spirit of error and whoredom : and they were gone a whoring from God. Hos. iv. 12. And they that joined themselves to Baal-Peor, and ate the sacrifices of the dead, provoked the Lord's anger, and brought the Lord's displeasure upon them, Psal. cvi. 28, 29. So here ye may see, the sacrifices of the dead were forbidden. "The living know that they shall die : but the dead know not any thing, neither have they any more a reward, for the memory of them is forgotten," Eccles. ix. 5. "Wo to the rebellious children, saith the Lord, that take counsel, but not of me ; and that cover with a covering, but not of my spirit, that they may add sin to sin." Isa. xxx. 1.

"George Fox."

On the 20th of the month called March, being the 1st month, Robert Widders, one of the first preachers among those called Quakers, died ; and G. Fox was now much in London ; *but he grew more and more weak in body, having endured many hardships in cruel impri-*



sonments for the truth. Sometimes he went into the country to take the fresh air, and at other times he was a while at the country-house of his son in law, William Mead, who married one of his wife's daughters. In the meanwhile he wrote much, for he was of a laborious temper, and did not omit under all his business to visit the meetings of his friends, and to edify them by his admonitions and exhortations. For now they were suffered to keep their meetings unmolested, since the king, in the month called April, published his long expected declaration for liberty of conscience to all his subjects; which contained, That henceforth the execution of all penal laws concerning ecclesiastical matters, for not coming to church, for not receiving the sacraments, or for any other nonconformity with the established religion, or for performing religious worship in any other way, should be suspended, &c.

It would indeed have been more acceptable if this liberty had been established by the king and parliament, this being granted as yet only by virtue of his royal prerogative; but however it was, liberty was enjoyed. The friends therefore of the church in London, seeing how those of other persuasions presented addresses *of thanks to the king*, for his declaration of liberty of conscience, which was now published *and whereby the Dissenters were permitted to*

perform their worship freely, provided their preaching did not tend to make the minds of people averse to the government, thought it convenient to draw up an address also, and present it to the king: which was as followeth;

To king James II. over England, &c.

“ May it please the King,

“ Though we are not the first in this way, yet we hope we are not the least sensible of the great favours we are come to present the king our humble, open, and hearty thanks for; since no people have received greater benefits, as well by opening our prison doors, as by his late excellent and Christian declaration for liberty of conscience; none having more severely suffered, nor stood more generally exposed to the malice of ill men, upon the account of religion; and though we entertain this act of mercy with all the acknowledgments of a persecuted and grateful people; yet we must need say, it doth the less surprise us, since it is what some of us have known to have been the declared principle of the king, as well long before, as since he came to the throne of his ancestors.

“ And as we rejoice to see the day that a king of England should from his royal seat so universally assert this glorious principle, that con-

science ought not to be constrain people forced for matters of mere *1* (the want of which happy conduct in ment has been the desolation of countr reproach of religion) so we do with hur sincere hearts, render to God first, and next, our sensible acknowledgments; cause they cannot be better expressed *1* godly, peaceable and dutiful life, it shoul endeavour (with God's help) always to ourselves the king's faithful and loving *1* and we hope that after this gracious king hath made towards the union of his and security of their common interest, his due consideration, there will be no room those fears and jealousies that might re king's reign unhappy.

That which remains, great prince for is to beseech Almighty God (by who reign, and princes decree justice) to thee more and more with his excellent and understanding to pursue this Christi sign of ease to all religious dissenters, most agreeable and lasting methods pray God to bless the king, his royal fa people with grace and peace; and the *long and prosperous* reign here, he may *a better crown among the blessed,*

“ Which is the pray

This address was received favourably, and therefore those of the yearly meeting, which some time after was held in London, also drew up an address, and some deputies of that meeting went to Windsor, where the court then was, and where William Penn, one of those that had been chosen to present the address, made the following speech to the king:

“May it please the king,

“It was a saying of our blessed Lord to the captious Jews, in the case of tribute, “Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar’s, and unto God the things that are God’s.” As this distinction ought to be observed by all men in the conduct of their lives, so the king has given us an illustrious example in his own person that excites us to it: for whilst he was a subject, he gave Cæsar his tribute; and now he is a Cæsar, gives God his due, viz, the sovereignty over consciences. It were a great shame then for any Englishman that pretends to Christianity, not to give God his due. By this grace he has relieved his distressed subjects from their cruel sufferings, and raised to himself a new and lasting empire, by adding their affections to their duty. *And we pray God to continue the king in this noble resolution, for he is now upon a principle that has good nature, Christianity, and*

the goodness of civil society on its side ; a security to him beyond all the little arts of government.

“ I would not that any should think, that we came hither with design to fill the gazette with our thanks ; but as our sufferings would have moved stones to compassion, so we should be harder, if we were not moved to gratitude.

“ Now since the king's mercy and goodness have reached to us throughout the kingdom of England, and principality of Wales, our general assembly from all those parts met in London about our church affairs, has appointed us to wait upon the king with our humble thanks, and me to deliver them ; which I do by this address, with all the affection and respect of a dutiful subject.”

After W. Penn had thus delivered himself, he presented the address to the king, which the prince kindly receiving, gave it to him to read ; which W. Penn did, and it was as followeth :

To king James II. over England, &c.

The humble and grateful acknowledgments of his peaceable subjects called Quakers, in this kingdom.

*From their usual yearly meeting in London, the nineteenth day of the third month, vulgarly called May, 1687.*

“ We cannot but bless and praise the name of Almighty God, who hath the hearts of princes in his hand, that he hath inclined the king to hear the cries of his suffering subjects for conscience-sake ; and we rejoice, that instead of troubling him with complaints of our sufferings, he hath given us so eminent an ‘ occasion to present him with our thanks. And since it hath pleased the king out of his great compassion, thus to commiserate our afflicted condition, which hath so particularly appeared by his gracious proclamation and warrants last year, whereby above twelve hundred prisoners were released from their severe imprisonments, and many others from spoil and ruin in their estates and properties, and his princely speech in council, and christian declaration for liberty of conscience, in which he doth not only express his aversion to all force upon conscience, and grant all his dissenting subjects an ample liberty to worship God in the way they are persuaded is most agreeable to his will ; but he gives them his kingly word, the same shall continue during his reign ; we do (as our friends of this city have already done) render the king our humble, Christian, and thankful acknowledgments, not only in behalf of ourselves, but with respect of *our friends throughout England and Wales ; and pray God with all our hearts, to bless and preserve thee, O king, and those under thee in a*

good a work: and we can assure the king well accepted in the counties from whence we came; so we hope the good effects thereof, for the peace, trade, and prosperity of the kingdom, will produce such a concurrence from the parliament, as may secure it to our posterity in after times; and while we live, it shall be our endeavour (through God's grace) to demean ourselves as in conscience to God, and unto the king, we are obliged.

"His peaceable, loving,

"And faithful subject

After William Penn had read the said address, the king spoke as followeth:

"Gentlemen,  
"I thank you heartily for your answer. Some of you know, I am sure you do Penn, that it was always my principle that science ought not to be forced; and men ought to have the liberty of their consciences. And what I have promised in declaration, I will continue to perform as I live; and I hope before I die it so, that after ages shall have no alter it."

Here we see what the king declared to be his intention ; but perhaps that prince did not consider, that if such a general liberty had been procured, he should not have been able to make it continue longer than the Popish clergy would have thought it convenient. For who is ignorant what an unlimited power the Roman prelates have usurped, not only in the ecclesiastical but also in the political state ? Inasmuch, that though the king's intention might have been really sincere, yet it is like it would have been thwarted, though he might have been willing that it should be otherwise. That his meaning was sincere, several I know that were not of his persuasion, have believed, and among these there were such, who thought that liberty of conscience might have been so established, that it should not have been in the power of the Papists to break it. But time hath shewn that king James was not to be the instrument for settling such a liberty of conscience ; and that the repealing of the penal laws was reserved for another prince. Yet the king was by some thought to do what he could to stop rapacious persecutors, and to restrain their power, with respect to imposing of oaths. It is true, it was said that the king might not do so ; *for by granting this liberty to the Quakers, he opened a door for the Romanists to bear offices, without taking the required oaths.*



Now that he discharged the Quakers from these oaths, may appear by the following order to the lord mayor of London :

Whitehall, Nov. 6, 1687.

“ My Lord,

“ The king being informed that Edward Brooker, Henry Jefferson, and Joseph Tomlinson, being Quakers, are by Mr. Baker, steward of Southwark, put upon several offices, as constables and the like, which they are willing to do ; but the oaths being tendered to them, from which they think themselves exempted by the king’s declaration for liberty of conscience, they are threatened to be fined and otherwise molested for their refusal to take them : his majesty commands me to let your lordship know, that his pleasure is, that the said Edward Brooker, Henry Jefferson, and Joseph Tomlinson, and all other Quakers, should now, and for the future, either be allowed to serve the said offices, without taking any oaths, or else that they be not fined or otherwise molested upon that account ; and his majesty would have you give order therein accordingly.

“ I am, my Lord,

“ *Your Lordship’s most humble servant*

“ *Sunderland.*”

Now whereas in some places goods taken from the Quakers lay still unsold, the king ordered those goods to be restored to them, as may appear by the following letter, written to the mayor and aldermen of Leeds in Yorkshire:

Whitehall, Dec. 14, 1687.

"Gentlemen,

"The king being informed that some goods belonging to John Wales, and other Quakers of Leeds, which were seized and taken from them upon the account of their religious worship, do remain unsold in the hands of John Todd, who was constable at the time of the seizure, or in the hands of some other persons: and his majesty's intention being, that all his subjects shall receive the full benefit of his declaration for liberty of conscience, his majesty commands me to signify his pleasure to you, that you cause the goods belonging to the said John Wales, and all other Quakers of Leeds, which were heretofore seized upon the account of religious worship, and are unsold in whose hands soever they remain, to be forthwith restored to the respective owners without any charge.

"I am, gentlemen,

"Your affectionate friend and servant

"Sunderland."

By such means some got their goods again, that had been taken from them upon the account of religious worship; for in many places they lay long unsold, because few would buy goods so taken. And that the king by these his favours, drew the love and affection of many of his subjects towards himself, none need to wonder; for whatever his religion was, he delivered them from that grievous burden, under which they had been oppressed so many years. To this may be added, that he used them kindly in all respects; and would not suffer his servants to molest any for not pulling off their hats, when they came near his royal person. Nay, 'so far went his condescension, that a certain countryman of the Quakers persuasion, coming to him with his hat on his head, the king took off his own hat, and held it under his arm; which the other seeing, said, "The king needs not keep off his hat for me." To which that prince returned, "You do not know the custom here, for that requires that but one hat must be on here." I have been told of more such like occurrences, which I pass by; but it appears from thence that the king endeavoured to have among the Quakers the repute of a mild and courteous prince. And this year *he gave also full liberty of conscience in Scotland, and freed those that were still under sufferings, granting them the free liberty of their*

religious meetings. The said liberty he also allowed to the Presbyterians, provided they should not meet in the fields, or in sheds, as some did.

The king having thus granted liberty of conscience to people of all persuasions, did whatever he could to introduce popery in England ; for he permitted the Jesuits to erect a college in the Savoy at London ; and suffered the friars to go publicly in the dress of their monastical orders. This was a very strange sight to Protestants in England, and it caused no small fermentation in the minds of people, when the fellows of Magdalen College at Oxford, were by the king's order dispossessed, to make way for Romanists. 'This was such a gross usurpation, that W. Penn, who had ready access to the king, and who endeavoured to get the penal laws and test abrogated ; thinking it possible to find out a way whereby to limit the Papists so effectually, that they should not be able to prevail ; did, for all that, not omit to blame this usurpation at Oxford, and to tell the king that it was an act which could not in justice be defended ; since the general liberty of conscience did not allow of depriving any of their property, who did what they ought to do, the fellows of the said college appeared to be done. But this could not cool the king's forpopery, for he drove on so fast, without

disguise, to that degree, that the pope's nuncio D'Ada, this summer made his public entry at Windsor, in very much state.

Great endeavours were now made to repeal the penal laws and tests: for when this point was gained, then Papists might be admitted into the government as well as others; and such a general liberty of conscience making an alluring shew, several dissenters, as Baptists, and others, served the king with their pens on this account: and W. Penn, who always had been a defender of liberty of conscience, was also not inactive in this affair, though with a good intent, howbeit he might have failed in his expectation. I remember when in those days the patrons of the church of Rome asserted liberty of conscience to be a Christian duty, I heard somebody say, "Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the Leopard his spots?" The king laboured also to persuade the prince and princess of Orange to give their assent to the repealing of the test and penal laws; but this could not be obtained of them. And since the king caused the advocate, James Stuart, to write concerning this matter to the heer Fagel, counsellor, and chief pensionary at the Hague; Fagel answered this paper in a letter to the said James Stuart, wherein he declared the judgment *of the prince and princess in this case; and signified that they were willing to assent to the*

repealing of the penal laws, as far as they had any tendency to the exercise of worship; but as for those that debarred Papists from sitting in parliament, of which the test was not the least, they could not give their assent to the repealing of such limitations. This letter was generally approved by the Protestants in England, but the king for all that went on with the introducing of popery; and about the beginning of the year 1688, he not only put in several Romanists to be fellows of Magdalen college at Oxford, but endeavoured to usher those of his persuasion into the magistracy; and the better to cloak this design, he would have other dissenters also chosen: but they generally rejected this offer, as did also Stephen Crisp, at Colchester, who was too circumspect to be caught thus, and therefore he declined the offer.

The king's declaration for liberty of conscience was, on the 27th of the month called April, published again, to shew that he was firm and constant in his resolution, and that his intentions were not changed since he issued it out, to excite his subjects to join in it, and to choose such members of parliament as might do their part to finish what he had begun. Hereto was annexed an order of the council, for reading this declaration *in all churches and chapels throughout the kingdom*; and ordering the bishops to *send and distribute the declaration through-*

out their several dioceses, to be read accordingly. But they refused to do so, pretending it was not legal, (though some there were who thought it was) because they were against liberty of conscience. Now the archbishop of Canterbury, and six other bishops, petitioned the King not to insist on the distribution and reading of his declaration; alleging that their great averseness to the distribution and publication of it in their churches proceeded neither from any want of duty and obedience to his majesty; nor yet from any want of due tenderness to dissenters; but because it was founded upon such a dispensing power as had been often declared illegal in parliament.

This refusal the king so resented, that he sent these bishops to the tower. Whilst they were thus confined there was much discourse every where about this matter; and since it was well known that some bishops had been the promoters of the former persecutions, some it seems spoke also in prejudice of these that were now under confinement. This being reported to them, they said that the Quakers belied them, and divulged that they (the bishops) had been the cause of the death of some. This gave occasion to Robert Barclay to visit the bishops *in the tower*; and speaking with them, he gave *them undeniable* proofs of some persons, who, *by order of bishops*, had been kept in prison

till death; though they had been told of the danger of those persons by physicians, that were not Quakers, This was so evidently manifested by R. Barclay, that they were not able to deny it: yet Barclay told them, that since they themselves were now under oppression, the intention of the Quakers was in no wise to publish such matters, lest thereby they should exasperate the king against them. And they were careful indeed not to do any thing that might aggravate the case of these prisoners; for it was not time now to rub old sores, since the bishops themselves seemed to be inclined to declare for liberty of conscience. And since this liberty was now enjoyed all over the kingdom, those called Quakers thought it convenient at their yearly meeting, which was held this summer in London, again to draw up an address to the king, and to acquaint him of one thing more, which continued to be troublesome to them. This address they presented to him, and was as followeth:

To king James II. over England &c.

The humble address of the People called Quakers, from their yearly meeting in London, the 6th day of the month called June, 1688.

*the king's loving and peaceable subjects*



from divers parts of his dominions, being met together in this city, after our usual manner, to inspect the affairs of our Christian society throughout the world, think it our duty humbly to represent to him, the blessed effects the liberty he has graciously granted his people to worship God according to their consciences, hath had, both on our persons and estates: for whereas formerly we had ever long and sorrowful lists brought to us from all parts almost of his territories, of prisoners, and the spoil of goods by violent and ill men, upon account of conscience; we bless God, and thank the king, the jails are every where clear, except in cases of tithes, and the repairs of parish churches, and some few about oaths; and we do in all humility lay it before the king, to consider the hardships our friends are yet under for conscience sake in those respects; being in the one chiefly exposed to the present anger of the offended clergy, who have therefore lately imprisoned some of them till death; and in the other they are rendered very unprofitable to the public and themselves; for both in reference to freedoms in corporations, probates of wills and testaments, and administrations, answers in chancery and exchequer, trials of our just titles and debts, proceeding in our trade at the custom house, serving the office of constables, &c. they are disabled, and great advantages taken against

them, unless the king's favour do interpose ; and as we humbly hope he may relieve us, so we confidently assure ourselves he will ease us what he can.

“ Now since it has pleased thee, O king, to renew to all thy subjects by thy last declaration, thy gracious assurances to pursue the establishment of this Christian liberty and property upon an unalterable foundation ; and in order to it, to hold a parliament in November next, at farthest :

“ We think ourselves deeply engaged to renew our assurances of fidelity and affection, and with God's help intend to do our parts for the perfecting so blessed and glorious a work ; that so it may be out of the power of any one party to hurt another upon the account of conscience : and as we firmly believe that God will never desert this just and righteous cause of liberty, nor the king in maintaining it ; so we hope by God's grace, to let the world see we can honestly and heartily appear for liberty of conscience ; and be inviolably true to our own religion, whatever the folly or malice of some men on that account may suggest to the contrary.”

This address being presented to the king, was well received. Some have been ready to think, *that the latter part of this address concerned the office of magistrates, which not without reason, it is believed that a Christian might serve, with*

it is inconsistent for a pious father correction to his rebellious child: our Saviour charges not to resist love enemies; and that he reprov<sup>ing</sup> from a forward zeal cut off the b<sup>rother</sup> servant's ear, said to him, "Put up into the sheath;" and that also James disapproves war and fighting, in sacred writ, that the apostle Paul the magistrate, the minister of God, and to execute wrath upon him that doth he saith in plain terms, that he bear sword in vain.

But to return to my relation, and again the thread of this history, I have been diverted a little by this I know there were some in those thought that if people of all persuasi<sup>on</sup> land had a share in the government, able to their number, a means might be found out to hinder any party, especially Papists, from exalting themselves above others. But to me it seems not that if this had effect, and a higher power cut off the way thereto, it would have appeared that those men did not re<sup>ly</sup>. *But it never came to this pass, for power was tottering already, though they vowed to support it, even with*

for to be helpful to his subjects, who, though free born men, were deprived of their freedom, merely because for conscience sake they could not swear; and to help them to this right to which they were entitled as well as others, could not be judged undue means, unless under it had been hidden an intent to introduce this liberty also in favour of the Papists, though' they did not believe swearing unlawful.

There were now at Norwich, about forty of the people called Quakers, who having petitioned the king, that he would be pleased to cause them to be made freemen, obtained the following order from him :

To our Trusty and Well-beloved our Attorney General.

“James R.

“Trusty and well beloved, we greet you well : whereas we have received a good character of the loyalty of our well beloved subjects, Thomas Howard, Peter Launce, William Booly, Henry Jackson, Edward Pears, John Jenn, Nicholas Comfit, John Harridence, John Gurney, Samuel Wasay, Edmund Cobb, Philip Pain, Josiah Sherringham, Anthony Alexander, Thomas Darmar, John Cadec, John Fiddeman, William Kiddle, James Pooley, John Defrance, jun. Daniel Sharpin, William Milchar, William Brown, John Sharpen, jun. Samuel Kettle

Stephen Ames, Richard Rose, Benjamin Stud, Edward Monk, John Cornish, John Hodson, James Polls, Michael Parker, Richard Brown, Daniel Dye, jun. John Elsegood, John Pike, and John Allen, we have thought fit hereby to require you, forthwith to make all and every the persons above mentioned, freemen of that our city of Norwich, with all the rights and privileges thereunto belonging, without administering unto them any oath, or oaths whatsoever, with which we are graciously pleased to dispense in their behalf; and for so doing this shall be your warrant: and so we bid you farewell. Given at our court at Whitehall, the 13th day of July, 1688, in the fourth year of our reign. By his majesty's command.

“Sunderland.”

It was now said commonly that the king might not do thus; and those who grudged the Quakers this liberty, did not stick to set forth this dispensation in very ill favoured colours; nay, they said that William Penn advised the king to do, what he could not do, without breaking his promise. Yet if the king had made no greater infringement, his reign it may *be would have lasted longer*: but the *disposing of the fellows of Magdalen college at Oxford, the imprisonment of the bishops, and the public admittance of jesuits and monks,*

caused a ferment in the minds of people. Now the bishops were tried at the king's bench bar, in Westminster Hall; but they were acquitted, and so released. The king also had appointed some ecclesiastical commissioners; but many looked upon this as a kind of inquisition, and it seemed not well to agree with liberty of conscience, which if he had maintained justly, according to the advice of the Quakers in their address, it is not likely that he would have come to such a strait, as now he was put to.

Not long before his time, one Theophila Townsend, a woman of years and understanding, published a book, wherein she gave a relation of the grievous persecution her friends in Gloucestershire had suffered, by imprisonment and spoil of goods, and how she herself had also undergone many sufferings, and had been imprisoned in the castle of Gloucester more than three years. Among other cases, she relates also, how some time before her imprisonment, it happened, that by order of the justices, Thomas Cutler and James George, she being seized in the street, said to the latter, that the Lord would plead her cause, and that what measure he meted, should be measured to him again. And it thus happened, that before she *was released, the wife of the said George, who took her from her husband, was by death taken from him.* Afterwards this George came with

the bishop of Gloucester into a meeting, where Theophila was on her knees praying; at which the bishop asking him whether she was the woman he spoke of, and he answering "Yes, my lord;" the bishop took her by the arm with such violence, that he had almost pulled her down backward, saying, "Give over, woman, and obey the king's officers. But such was her zeal, that it could not be stopped; for the more opposition she met with, the more she felt herself encouraged, and inspired, to praise God for his goodness: and though the bishop stirred up the justice, yet it seemed not in his power to break off the current of her speech: so that they let her alone, till she having discharged herself, stood up. Then the names of those that were met, were taken in writing; and some time after she, though aged and weakly, was in the winter season led three or four miles through the snow, and committed to jail at Gloucester, where she was kept three years and four months, and then released by king James.

Afterward she published a book, as hath been said already, in which she gave an account how some of her friends had been beaten, punched and abused to that degree, that they died of it, as she testified to have seen herself: "*Yet,*" said she, "though many died who were *stronger than I*, it hath pleased the Lord to *preserve my life*, that I may speak to the praise

of his name, and tell of his wonders, and put you, persecutors, once more in mind what belongs to your peace. Blessed be the Lord, he is risen for Zion's sake, which ye have plowed long as a field; and when her enemies have done their worst, then the Lord shall make his Zion to be an everlasting glory, and Jerusalem the praise of the whole earth. And as ye see now in others that persecution is evil, so see it also in yourselves: repent in dust and ashes. Remember who it was that said, the wise man's eyes are in his head, but the fool walketh in darkness. The eyes of fools look out for mistakes in others, and they blame in others what they are guilty of themselves. Methinks the eye-lids of the morning, that is now dawned and rising before you, ought to bring you to a true sight of your condition in this matter." Going on thus, she reproves the informers who had enriched themselves with the spoil of their neighbours; and she also relates how the priest of Gloucester had put his name to a petition to the king, in which justice George, and others, desired that the meeting-house of the Quakers might be given to the town to make a work-house for the poor. "But," said she, "this is like Judas who, when the woman came with an alabaster-box of very precious spikenard, said. "Why was this waste made? Why was not the oint-



ment sold and the money given to the poor?" But the scripture saith, that this he said, not that he cared for the poor, but because he was a thief, and had the bag: Thus the priest made it appear by what he did, that he was not a true minister of the gospel; for he came short of the works of the law, which saith, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, nor any thing that is thy neighbour's." And Christ commands to do unto men what we would have them to do unto us; by which it is plain that such doings are contrary to the law and the gospel. Those now who will have such blind sleepy watchmen to be their teachers, let them pay them, and not constrain others (who know them to be blind,) to pay them also.

Then speaking to those who had a hand in the spoiling of goods, and setting forth the odiousness of that work, she saith at last, "I do not write this from a spirit of revenge against any, but it is in the love of God, to warn you, and to exhort you to repentance, that ye may find mercy of the Lord, which is the real desire of my soul. I can truly say, in the presence of the Lord, that I have nothing in my heart but love and good will to the worst of our enemies, and this in purity of heart, and in sincerity of *mind*. I really desire your eternal peace and *well being*, though ye have hardened your hearts *against the Lord*, and his truth and people

Turn to the Lord I beseech you; bow before the Almighty, who will plead with all flesh, and shall call all to an account, and reward every man according to what he hath done in the body, whether it be good or bad. Consider this therefore whilst ye have time, and mind the things that belong to your peace before they are hid from your eyes: for the long suffering of the Lord will come to an end, who said, "My spirit shall not always strive with man." Therefore whilst the spirit of the Lord, his light, his grace still strives in your hearts, to turn you off from your evil ways, be willing to embrace it, believe in it, take counsel of it, submit to it with all your heart, be willing to be led and guided by it, and incline your hearts to follow it in all things, and then it will lead you to rest and peace with the Lord for ever." Yet more she said; but I break off. By such kind of emphatic speeches, sometimes persecutors have been so touched to the heart that they themselves became harmless Christians.

I am come now almost to a conclusion of my relation concerning persecution: of which I could have written much more, but that I was unwilling to extend my work beyond what I should have been well able to complete. Yet *before I altogether part with this matter, I will mention something concerning Theophilus Green,*

of whom mention hath been made before. He lived at Battersea, not far from London, and was a man beloved of his neighbours, because of his honest conversation; yet he was much persecuted, both for attending meetings, and for preaching. Once it happened that some officers came to his house to see whether there was a meeting, and they behaved themselves moderately; for what they did seemed against their mind, it being only in obedience to the order of justice Duke, who on account of a former offence, had issued out warrants to make distress. The officers not satisfied in the case and seeing no meeting, went their way, and returned the warrant; and T. Green went afterwards to the said justice and speaking to him, said among the rest, "Consider what that mouth and tongue of thine have said formerly, viz. that I had been very kind to thee, and is this the way of requiting it? Know for certain, that that God whom I have served, and for whose cause I now suffer, will avenge me; for vengeance is the Lord's, and he will repay it one way or other, except thou speedily repent." At this saying the justice began to tremble, and crying out, said, "I will do you no more hurt than I will *do my own soul*. Pray go to the officers, and *tell them I will never trouble them any more upon the account of you.*" Green did so, and *they were glad of it.* And Duke being upon

some complaint dismissed, one sir John Broadrick succeeded in his room; and he was so moderate, that he prevented the informers, by keeping Theophilus and his friends out of their meeting house which was for about two years and a half.

Afterwards they were suffered again to go in- to their meeting-house, but then justice Forster came once, and taking their names, fined Theophilus 10l. as a preacher. And afterwards he with others coming with a constable to seize for the fine, the constable being come to the door of the house, said, "Neighbour Green, where are you? We are come to scize your goods, if you will let us in." But this so displeased the justice, that going down to the yard, and seeing some oars and poles, he required the constable to take them away. To which he answered, "I am no porter." "Then," said the justice, "co mmand some others to do it." To which the constable returned, "I command you to do it." This so enraged the justice, that he fined him. Some time after the said justice coming again with a high constable, and another petty constable, seized a barge, and carried it away, and several times offered it for sale, at length it was found adrift by one who knew not of its be- ing seized; and hearing that it was Theophilus's barge he brought it to him. But Theophilus went to the constables, and told them how it

came to him, and where he had it, saying since it was come to him again he was willing to keep it; but if they took it away again he would not hinder them. This account being given to the justice, he sent a warrant and committed Theophilus to the Marshalsea prison. After three weeks the sessions was held at the Marshalsea: and the last day the said justice came to him in the prison, saying he came out of love to see him for his good; which was, that he would have him pay his fine; "for," said he "I am sure the grand jury hath found the bill against you: and if you should come off, I have such an influence with the judge, as to cause the oath to be tendered to you; and I know you will not take it; and then you will be run to a premunire, and are not like to come out as long as you live." To which Theophilus answered, "Thou saidst thy coming was in love, to advise me for my good; but by what thou hast said, it appears the contrary: for now I perceive thou hast devised as much mischief as thou canst against me. As to the fine, if it were but ten pence, nay ten farthings, I would not pay it. And if the Lord should permit thee to do as thou hast said, and so be the cause of bringing my grey hairs the sooner to the grave, my blood will be at justice *Forster's door*, and it will cry vengeance against thee."

*The next day the two constables being called*

When the grand jury were asked what they had against Theophilus Green, that stood there indicted; and the high constable answered, "As Theophilus Green, he is as honest a man, though a Quaker, as lives about us; and he was lately in office for the poor, and behaved himself as well in it as any have done these twenty years. And touching the barge he is indicted for, when it came to him he came to us; and told how it came, and where he had laid it, saying if we would take it away again he would not hinder us. This is all we have to say." Some of the grand jury knowing Theophilus very well, and the cause too, did aggravate the matter very high against the justice; and as to the indictment they brought it in *ignoramus*. So Theophilus was cleared by proclamation: and Sir Richard How, being one of the jury, advised him to arrest the justice, there being two good actions, as defamation and false imprisonment. But Theophilus said he owned their love, but would leave the thing to the Lord, for whose cause he suffered; for vengeance was the Lord's, and he would repay it. And it was but some little time after that the said justice Forster died, as was reported in great horror and misery. The time when this happened I do not know exactly, yet I take it to have been some years before the time I now describe. We see by this instance a very singular deliverance,

such as did not befall every one, but which could not but encourage Theophilus the more.

Before I conclude this year I must mention something concerning William Penn, who, when the government of king James was sinking, not only bore the blame of many miscarriages; but by some was stiled a Papist, though this was altogether false. But he had a great many enemies; and it was no new thing to brand the Quakers with the odious name of Jesuits; for many years before this time at Bristol great endeavours were used to persuade people they were Franciscans. William Penn patiently bore the slander of being decried as a Papist, saying but little in justification of himself, till at length he made a return to a letter sent by one who seriously begged him to give an answer to those accusations that had been forged in prejudice of his reputation. In this paper he ascribed his free access to the king, partly to the relation his father, as admiral, had to the service of the said king, and who was then duke of York, and high admiral of England: and his special favour also in releasing him out of the tower of London in the year 1669. To this he added, "My father's humble request to him on his death bed, was, to protect me from the inconveniences and troubles my persuasion might expose me unto; and his friendly promise to do it, and exact performance of it, from the moment I address-

sed myself to him : I say when all this is considered, any body that hath the least pretence to good nature, gratitude, or generosity, must needs know how to interpret my access to the king.—Is any thing more foolish as well as false than that because I am often at Whitehall, therefore I must be author of all that is done there, that doth not please abroad. But supposing some such things to have been done ; pray tell me if I am bound to oppose any thing I am not called to do : I never was a member of council, cabinet, or committee, where the affairs of the kingdom are transacted. I have had no office or trust, and consequently nothing can be said to be done by me ; nor, for that reason, could I lie under any test or any obligation to discover any opinion of public acts of state : and therefore neither can any such acts, nor any silence about them in justice be made my crime. Volunteers are blanks and ciphers in all governments. And unless calling at Whitehall once a day, upon many occasions, or my not being turned out of nothing, (for that no office is) be the evidence of my compliance in disagreeable things, I know not what else can with any truth be alleged against me.—I am not without apprehensions of the cause of this behaviour towards me ; I mean *my constant zeal for an impartial liberty of conscience.* But if that be it, the cause is too good to be in pain about it. I



ever understood that to be the natural right of all men; and that he that had a religion without it, his religion was none of his own. For what is not the religion of a man's choice, is the religion of him who imposes it: so that liberty of conscience is the first step to have a religion. This is no new opinion with me, I have written many apologies within the last twenty years to defend it, and that impartially. Yet I have as constantly declared, that bounds ought to be set to this freedom, and that morality was the best; and that as often as that was violated under a pretence of conscience, it was fit the civil power should take place. Nor did I ever once think of promoting any sort of liberty of conscience for any body, which did not preserve the common protestancy of the kingdom, and the ancient rights of the government: for to say truth, the one cannot be maintained without the other.— And till I saw my own friends, with the kingdom, delivered from the legal bondage which penal laws for religion had subjected them to, I could with no satisfaction think of leaving England, though much to my prejudice beyond sea, and at my great expence here, having in all this time had neither office, or pension, and always refusing the rewards or gratuities of those *I have been able to oblige.*" From this little abstract of William Penn's Apology, it appears sufficiently what kind of liberty he defended;

and such a liberty afterwards took place in the reign of the next king.

Of George Fox I have been long silent, and I do not meet with any very remarkable transactions that concerned him, except that he wrote much, both for the edification of his friends, and for the instruction and admonition of others; for he was continually occupied with the care of the church, and that things might be kept in good order, which to perform the better, he now staid a long while in and about London.

In this year died William Dewsbury, one of the first preachers among those called Quakers; having been a very zealous teacher, and an eminent instrument to the conversion of many. He was born in Yorkshire, and in his youth was a shepherd, and afterwards put apprentice to a clothier; but when the civil wars broke out, he became a soldier and joined with those who said they fought for the gospel. Now though he was religious according to his knowledge; yet growing more and more serious, and turning his mind inwardly, he saw there were inward and spiritual enemies to encounter with, according to the saying of the apostle, "We wrestle not against flesh and blood; but against spiritual wickedness," &c. And this state was inwardly manifested to him in the words of our Saviour: "*Put up thy sword into the sheath. If my kingdom were of this world, then wou*"

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my servants fight." This wrought so powerfully upon his mind, that he could no longer meddle with martial affairs but left the army; and returned to his former calling, endeavouring to improve in true godliness, in which he so advanced gradually, that when George Fox in the year 1651, came to Balby in Yorkshire, and preached the gospel there, he could not but consent to the doctrine declared by him, as being the same of which he himself was already convinced in his mind; viz. that heed ought to be given to the inward divine reprovings for that which is evil: which doctrine was preached by George Fox under the denomination of the true light, which enlighteneth every man coming into the world; and that heed must be given thereunto, as being the grace which brings salvation, of which the apostle speaks in his epistle to Titus ii. 11. saying, "That it hath appeared to all men." W. Dewsbury having heard such a sermon as this, agreed not only with G. Fox in this point of doctrine; but in process of time became himself also a very zealous preacher of it, for which he fell under great sufferings; insomuch that he was prisoner at Warwick nineteen years for religion's sake, *besides the imprisonments he suffered on that account in other places.* But being now released, he came in the month, called May to London, and preached a sermon there concerning regen-

eration, which was taken from his mouth in short-hand, and afterwards printed as underneath.\* His intention was to have been at the

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\* A Sermon preached by William Dewsbury, at Gracechurch Street, the 6th of the 31 month 1688.

“My friends,

“*Except you be regenerated and born again, ye cannot inherit the kingdom of God.*”

“This is the word of the Lord God to all people this day, this lies not in airy profession, and in vain imagination, and whatsoever else it is that you deck yourselves withal, you must every particular man and woman be born again, else you cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven. This was the doctrine of Christ in that prepared body wherein he appeared in the world, and preached to Nicodemus, that standing doctrine to this moment of time, and will be so while any man breathes upon the earth; there is no other way, no other gate to enter into life, but by this great work of regeneration. Now to enforce people to come to this great work, and to set forward from earth to heaven, all being driven out of Paradise by the cherubim set with a flaming sword, there is no returning to that blessed life, but by the loss of that life that did grieve the Spirit of God, and which did cause man to be driven out; there is no other way of return again but by this new birth. As you are all driven and forced out of Paradise, and the flaming sword and the cherubims are set to keep the way of the tree of life, so you must return into the favour of God again, by the light of Christ; and you have line upon line, precept upon precept, here a little and there a little, to direc

yearly meeting of his friends ; but by illness he was prevented ; and therefore before he grew worse, he returned to Warwick where he lived.

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your minds to the light of Christ Jesus. As the first Adam was made a living soul, so the second Adam is a quickening spirit. This know for certain, no man or woman can be quickened, and raised up into the life of the second Adam, till the life of the first Adam be taken away from them.

“ So now, let every one of you deal plainly with your own hearts, how you came to be a slain people to the life of the first Adam, in which life there was a working of the mystery of iniquity in every part of man. One cries, Lo here is Christ, another, Lo there is Christ, and every one is following his own imagination about the letter of the Scripture ; this is still but the vain spirit of man, running and striving to recover himself ; and this is the cause there is so much profession of God, and so little of his nature appearing among the sons and daughters of men. Now all of you that come to be regenerated, you must come to the light of Christ, there is no other way to it. He will search your hearts, and try your reins, and set your sins in order before you, and trace out the iniquities that compass you about , therefore you must see yourselves a lost people, a sinful people, and so come to feel the weight of your sins upon your consciences, there is no other way to come to life : you will never complain of sin, till you be burthened with it, till you have a trumpet sounding in your ears, *to awaken you, that you may arise from the dead, that Christ may give you light ; there is no other way, dear people, you must bring your deeds to the light of Christ, and abide in the sentence of condemnation ; if you save your lives, you lose them ; if you will lose your lives to*

Being come thither, his disease increased ; and lying very sick in bed, and being visited by some of his friends, he said to them, in great weakness of body, as followeth :

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Christ's sake, there is no danger of your eternal life. John the Baptist, Christ's forerunner, declared, " I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance, but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose, he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire : whose fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his floor, and will gather his wheat into his garner, but the chaff he will burn with unquenchable fire." What is it the better for you to read the Scripture, if you know not this fiery baptism, which all must know that are regenerated ; deceive not yourselves, Christ will appear in flaming fire, and take vengeance on all them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.

" I stand here as a witness of the Lord of life this day, there is no way for people to come to salvation, but they must know Christ revealed in all their hearts. What is he doing but rendering vengeance upon the carnal mind, self-pleasing, and all inordinate affections ; he comes with vengeance to take away thy life, he will baptize thee with the Holy Ghost, and with fire. If thou knowest not this, thou art not a true Christian, thou wilt never look death in the face with joy, nor go down to the grave with triumph. If thou livest at home in the body, and flyest for thy life, and wilt not be willing to lose thy life for Christ ; if thou art called to it, and if thou wilt not have Christ to wash thee, (some for shyness, and some for self love will refuse this) if Christ doth not wash thee. thou hast no part in him ; you must come to Christ to purify you in the fiery furnace ; the day of the Lo

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“ My God hath yet put it in my heart to bear a testimony to his name and blessed truth, and I can never forget the day of his great power

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shall burn as an oven, (as the prophet speaks :) this is a dreadful day, a day of vengeance, the day of the Lord Jesus Christ, who redeemeth his people from their sins. Sion is redeemed with judgment, and established with righteousness. Do not make the way to heaven easier in your minds and imaginations than indeed it is, and think it not sufficient to live in an outward observance of the ways of God. If your own wills be alive, and your corruptions remain unmortified, the judgment of God will be your portion, therefore in the Lord's name come along with me, I am come to declare what I have heard and seen of the Father. Come and examine thy conscience. Hast thou brought thy deeds to the light ? Then thou hast received condemnation upon thyself, and thy haughtiness is bowed down, and laid low, and thou seest thyself a poor miserable wretch before the eternal God. Whatsoever thou knowest of the mind of God, hast thou reformed thy ways ? come along with me, and tell me what is the ground of thy faith, and thy confidence ; Is it thy obedience and qualifications ? Because thy obedience is right, and thy qualifications right, what use dost thou make of them ? Read the book of conscience, hast thou no ground for thy faith ? Thou hast put on the reformed faith, and liveth an unreformed life ; search and try thyself, man or woman. Dost thou watch over thyself, and keep in a sense of thy dissolution, notwithstanding all thy qualifications and partial reformation ?

*Dost thou strive to enter in at the strait gate, and the narrow way ? Here is the lost sheep thou seekest, the life of thy will, the life of the first Adam ; the justice of God will not suffer thee to make a saviour of thy duties*

and blessed appearance, when he first sent me to preach the everlasting gospel, and proclaim the day of the Lord to all people. Therefore,

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and qualifications; and to take God's jewels, and to deck thyself with them, thou canst not be saved without the righteousness of God in Christ Jesus. What saith thy conscience, art thou brought to this change of thy mind, and of thy conversation? Are you all willing to part with your sins, with your pride and haughtiness? Are you willing to part with your vile affections? This is the work of God's grace upon you. Dost thou place thy confidence in thy duties and qualifications, and takest God's jewels and ornaments, and deckest thyself with them? Thou tookest my jewels saith the Lord, and didst play the harlot; if thou return to the Lord, and humble thyself, and get through this difficulty, thou wilt be happy for ever. This judgment of God, this flaming sword that turns every way, will keep thee from returning to sin, and bring thee to Christ, and cut thee off from all hope of salvation but by him, and make thee to see the absolute need of a Saviour, and that thy life is hid with Christ in God.

“It is God's infinite goodness to men that he will hide pride from them, and humble them under his mighty hand. This is the condition of poor creatures that are slain by the hands of the most High. How may I know when I am slain and baptized, and come to have sincerity? They that have this baptism enter into the heavenly life; if you love the light of Christ Jesus, it will be thus with you; God will make short work in the earth. He will set thy sins in order before thee, and make thee watchful unto prayer, and lead thee to holiness of life and conversation, and make thee abhor thyself, and despise all the pomps and pleasures and vanities of this



friends, be faithful, and trust to the Lord your God ; for this I can say, I never since played the coward, but as joyfully entered prisons as

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world. When he hath adorned thee with his graces, then watch for the light, and in the light of Christ thou shalt see light, and that all thou hast done, and canst do, is but thy duty. All this thou oughtest to do, thou art God's creature, and all this will not justify thee in order to thy eternal salvation, for these services thou owest unto God. If thou diligently wait, thou shalt see more light ; then the sword that proceeds out of the mouth of Christ, who is called the word of God, will cut thee off from all thy hopes of salvation from any thing thou hast done, from any of thy qualifications, from any thing that thou canst do ; so that thou wilt be a hopeless soul, nothing in thine own sense and apprehension ; the power of the first Adam must die before him, and thou wilt cry out, I am a dead, lost, and undone creature ; but there is a life hid with Christ in God for me, but I can never have it till I be slain into the will of God, and become as a little child, and be stripped of all my own excellency that I have attained ; I must come to a sense of my own misery, and fall down at the foot of God ; when I am become as a little child, humbled and slain as to my own will, and confidence in my own righteousness ; I will not then question but I shall live a holy life, but I will give all that life I had, for that life which is hid with Christ in God ; O ! there is none come so far that ever miss of eternal life. All shuffling people that would have salvation by Christ, *and will not let him exercise his heavenly power, his princely glorious power to baptize them into his death, it is they that come short of salvation ; but all those that yield themselves up to Christ to be redeemed*

palaces, and in the prison house I sang praises to my God, and esteemed the bolts and locks upon me as jewels. And friends, this I must

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through judgment, and are become as little children, these are in a happy state. You know that our Lord Jesus Christ took a little child in his arms, and said, **Whoever becomes not as a little child, cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven; you must all of you become as little children, and depend upon the mercy and free grace of God; you must all come to a holy resignation of your wills to God's disposal: if you come to Christ as little children, and depend upon him, you cannot miss of salvation; it is entailed upon such souls as hear the voice of Christ, they that hear the voice of the Son of God shall live.**

**"I stand here as a witness for the God of heaven, I never heard the voice of Christ (as his follower) till I was slain and baptized, and lay as a little child under his heavenly chastisements; as soon as ever my soul was brought to this in my humiliation, O then the dreadful judgment was taken away, and the book of life was opened unto me, and the Lord spake comfortably to me, I have loved thee with an everlasting love; and I was made a Christian through a day of vengeance, and of burning as an oven; and the haughtiness and pride of man in me was brought low. Now in this conformity to Christ's death people may die into life, and blessed are the dead that die in the Lord, for they rest from their labours, and their works do follow them. Away with all your own wills, and your pride, and haughtiness, and your hypocrisy and deceit, and all dependency upon any qualifications of your own; you must come to have your life separated from you, else you will all perish. Those that will die with Christ, and be**

once again testify to you in the name of the Lord God, that what I saw above thirty years ago, still rests as a testimony to leave behind

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willing to die for him, he is revealed as a Saviour to them. He was before us in the days of his flesh, and complied with his Father's will, he was nailed to the cross. The Son of God, when he was come to the depth of his sufferings, what was his cry? "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" This was for thy sake, and my sake, and every man and woman's sake that do believe in him; he drank the cup which his Father gave him to drink. If it was done thus to the green tree, what shall be done unto the dry? He went before us, and when he cometh again he will take us to himself, and take us from the filth of sin, that we may be made new creatures.

"Now except we be born again, we cannot enter into the kingdom of God, and there is no becoming new creatures, till we be slain to the old man. Thou must be slain to thy pride and haughtiness, and the corruption of thine own will, and all selfishness thou must have God to burn it up in thee: the Holy Ghost will destroy, and burn up nothing in thee, but that which will bring an eternal fire upon thy soul. Shew me thou whom my soul loveth; where is the path of life, the footsteps of the flock of thy companions? Why should I be as one that goes aside? Now every one that lives at home, in the bosom of self take this with you, though you profess the truth, and live in an outward conformity thereunto, yet if you secretly indulge your corrupt wills, and live a flesh-pleasing life, and consult with *flesh and blood*, and are not rent off from your lusts, *you cannot enjoy the Lord of life!* while I am at home *in the body*, I am absent from the Lord.

"*The body of sin is a loadstone to draw you from the*

me, that a dreadful terrible day is at hand, and will certainly come to pass ; but the time when, I cannot say ; but all put on strength in the

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life of God, and from glorying in the cross of Christ : this is flesh and blood, and flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God. For the Lord's sake, for your soul's sake, and for the sake of your eternal happiness, put not off this work, but pursue it, and it will be perfected. See how Christ is revealed in you by the Holy Ghost, and with fire. God will redeem you by the spirit of judgment and burning ; it is not ranging abroad in your minds, but you must know Christ is in you except ye be reprobates ; if he hath set your eyes and hearts upon himself, and made you to water your couch with your tears ; if he hath broken your sleep, so as you have cried out, " I shall be damned, and never come to salvation ; " (this would be your cry, it was once my cry,) O let not your eyes slumber, nor your eye lids take any rest, till you be sure the Lord is your God ; if you find these qualifications, you are on your way, otherwise you will be like a deceitful bow, and never abide in judgment ; if you reject the counsel of God against yourselves and refuse to be crucified with Christ, and to be baptised with his baptism, you will never have life ; but by his baptism, and through the heavenly operation of his Spirit, if thou hast faith in Christ's name, thou shalt be married to him in everlasting righteousness ; salvation shall be brought to us, and eternal life be bestowed upon us, even that life which is hid with Christ in God, he will give to every poor mournful soul that submits to his *blessed will, and believeth in the Lord Jesus Christ ; this is not a faith of our own making nor a garment of our own embroidery, but that which the Lord hath given to us. O happy man or woman, that obtainest this gift*

name of the Lord, and wait to feel his eternal power, to preserve you through the tribulations of those days that approach very near.

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to us. O happy man or woman, that obtainest this gift of God ! O ! Who will not lose their lives for this everlasting life ? Who will not die for this eternal life ? Now the matter lies in the death of your own wills, when you have done the will of God, then watch that your own wills be slain, and that your cursed self take not the jewels of God, and his bracelets and ornaments, and bestow them upon self, and paint and deck cursed self : and take not the members of Christ, and make them the members of an harlot ; if you be dead to your own wills, you are risen with Christ, and shall receive a resurrection to eternal life ; crucify self, and set the world at naught, and trample upon it, and all things of it, and count them as dross and dung in comparison of Christ ; that the Father hath revealed to be our life, in the days of our sorrow and mourning, in the day of our calamity, in the day when we cried our hope is lost.

“ Thus it hath been with the holiest people on earth ; it is not by works of righteousness of thy own that thou canst be saved ; Christ comes to cut all these down, that thou mayest be ingrafted into him, and justified by his grace. Do not make this matter of talk, and say, I have heard this and that ; but look into your own hearts, and see what heavenly workings are there ; what there is of the power of the Lord Jesus, that hath made you to loath this world, and the inordinate love of the creature, that you may enjoy all these things, as if you enjoyed *them not*. We cannot when we are slain and crucified to *this world*, but say, my life is in Christ, when we come to *ascribe nothing* to ourselves, and all to Christ : here is a *blessed harmony*, broken hearts, melted spirits, and y<sup>e</sup>

This I have further to signify, that my departure draws nigh. Blessed be my God, I am prepared, and I have nothing to do but die, and

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joyful souls ; poor creatures that were mourning and sighing, and crying before the Lord in retired places, and yet rejoicing in Christ Jesus, I am risen with Christ, I said, my hope is cut off, I will lie down in thy will, O God ; do what thou wilt with me, it is in thy sovereign pleasure and free gift, whether thou give me life, or deny it to me : there must be a resignation of ourselves to the will of God ; it was so with the Lord Jesus, and it is so with every true saint of God ; you must be humbled as little children before judgment be take away, and the loving kindness of God sealed up to your souls ; if you seek this work of God you will find it ; if you seek it upon your beds in all your labours and concernments, in all your stations and relations ; if you press after the new birth, you must use this world as if you used it not, and live a married life, as if you were unmarried, for the fashion of this world passeth away. This is not rantism.

“ But let me tell you, a new world comes by regeneration, a man is not lifted up in his own mind, but laid low in his own eyes, he waits for the wisdom of God, to govern him, and he is as a steward of the grace of God, to give to them that stand in need. When a man is regenerated and born again, he is as contented with bread and water, as with all the enjoyments of this world : what is the matter ? His own will is gone, and put down under his feet, and whatsoever it is that gives life to all his vain desires and affections, there is a harmony of all within, a man praising of God and blessing his holy name ; there are no entanglements shall draw away the heart from serving of God, and seeking his glory ; and if God shall call the husband from the wife, or the wife

put off this corruptible and mortal tabernacle, this flesh that hath so many infirmities ; but the life that dwells in it, ascends out of the reach of

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up, and a praising and blessing God when they are called to such an exercise ; and if they are not called to that, then they set their hearts to glorify God in their several places and stations ; then they have a full content in a blessed resignation. Here their wills are slain, but they praise God they have no desire, but Lord thy will be done, always praising God, always having the fear, and the glory of God before their eyes. All the mischief is hatched in pleasing mens own wills ; that is, the counsel of every heart that Christ doth not govern. Will you live as the Quakers ? Then you must live contemptibly, the mistress and the maid are hail fellows well met. No, every one must walk in humility, and live in acquaintance with the God of heaven ; she that is wrought upon by the same spirit, must with all diligence behave herself as becomes a servant of the Lord. Here is now a new world, and the fashions of the old world are gone ; all pride, haughtiness, crossness, and trampling upon one another are all gone, all slain through the operation of Christ.

“ What remains now, Christ is in me, and we are all one in him ; Christ laid down his life for thee and me ; now he reigns in me, and he hath prepared my body to die for the truth, as his prepared body was laid down for my sin. It is a kind of foolish profession to make profession of Christ, and live in covetousness, profaneness sensuality, and the like, they that are come to this heavenly birth, seek the things that are above, thou canst do no other ; make the tree good, and the fruit will be good. You must be ingrafted into the vine of God's righteous-

death, hell, and the grave; and immortality and eternal life is my crown for ever. Therefore you that are left behind, fear not, nor be discou-

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ness: O! slight not the day of your visitation. What was it to me to read of any being born again, till I was slain, and knew the heavenly baptism of Christ Jesus? Till I saw the flaming sword ready to slay me in every way, in every turning. The light of Christ convinced me of sin, and his righteousness justified me, and those works were abominable to me, that hindered my soul's passage to Christ; Christ Jesus in marrying my soul to himself seized upon me, and did work effectually in me: there is the testimony of Christ in me, he hath sealed up my soul to the day of my redemption. Here is a certain passage, and a certain way which never any miss of, that lose their lives for Christ; if you be not ready and willing to lose your lives for Christ, you shall never come here; the gate is straight, and the way is narrow, none come hither but those that die into an heavenly oneness with Christ. O friends let us empty ourselves, that Christ may fill us; let us be nothing in our own eyes, that we may be all in him, and receive of his fulness.

“Now I commend you to God's witness, that you may remember what hath been spoken among you; but consider, if you do not hearken to it, it will follow you, and be a plague to you to all eternity; if you will not yield up yourselves to Christ this day that burns like an oven, this fire you must dwell with when out of the body, there will be no quenching of this fire; but if you be so wise for your souls, as to resign yourselves up to Christ, and come to him as little children this will not hinder your earthly concerns, though the world may account thee a fool, yet thou hast that part of heavenly wisdom to do



raged, but go on in the name and power of the Lord, and bear a faithful and living testimony for him in your day. And the Lord will pros-

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what thou dost as unto God ; thou carriest to thy wife, as in the sight of God, that she may be sanctified to thee, and thou to her ; and thou carriest becomingly to thy children and servants, and thou wilt abound in grace and in every work, which will be for thine eternal welfare.

“O ! I beseech you people, for the Lord’s sake, wait for the light of Christ to guide you ; learn of him to be meek and lowly, then happy are you ; for he dwelleth with the humble, but he beholdeth the proud afar off. This new birth, which is a true work, a sincere and heavenly work, it will make you for ever. O make room for Christ in your hearts, or else he is never like to dwell with you ; he loveth to dwell with the poor and humble and contrite spirit, he abhors the proud, he will empty your souls, that he may fill them.

“And so I commend you to God. I have been long held in durance under great weakness ; and I was restless, till I could come up to this great city of London, to preach the everlasting gospel among you, and you see I am among you here ; pray every one of you turn inward ; let not these words passing through a mean vessel be as a bare empty discourse of truth to you, which you only hear, and take no farther care of your salvation. Take heed of despising the light that shines in the midst of you, and be pressing forward to the heavenly work that is laid in the power of Christ Jesus, even through judgment into death and then he will give *eternal life* ; the Lord confirm this, that it may rest upon *your hearts*, that you may be dead to the things of the *world* ; we are not come to Mount Sinai, that genders to *bondage*, but we are come to Mount Sion, the city of th

per his work in your hand, and cause his truth to flourish, and spread abroad. For it shall have the victory, and no weapon formed against it shall prosper."

Thus fervent in spirit was W. Dewsbury in his latter end, and he prayed to God very earnestly for all his friends, especially those that were met at the annual assembly in London. And so he very piously departed this life at his house, in a good old age, in the month called June in this current year. He was indeed a man of remarkable zeal and perception. He spoke sometimes to young lads as to men, telling them that the blessing of the Lord would rest upon them if they lived a godly life ;

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living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly, and church of the first-born which are written in heaven, and to God the judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of the new covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling, that speaketh better things than that of Abel. This is the inheritance of the redeemed of the Most High, blessed be the name of the Lord ; let us rest in hope, till he bring us to humility and lowliness of mind, that he may clothe us with heavenly glory according to his promise, I will beautify my house with glory, saith the Lord. This is the portion of a poor people, that cast down themselves before the Lord, that he may lift them up, and be all in all to them, in whose blessed presence they shall have joy, and rivers of pleasures at his right hand for evermore."

people, their religion and laws. And all things took a favourable turn for him.

In Holland a good while before a paper was published in print, called, A Copy of a Letter written by a Quaker in London to his Friend at Rotterdam. In which forged letter were mentioned several things that were not altogether untrue, and the prince's going over to England, was also in a manner predicted. Who was the author of the said letter, I could never learn, but of this I am fully satisfied, that he was no Quaker; for it never was their way to ridicule princes, and to characterize them with ridiculous denominations, as in the said letter we find mentioned, of James of Great Britain, Mary of Modena, William of Orange, and Mary of England, his wife. This was no more the language of Quakers, than the following expressions that are found in this letter. "The Spirit hath inspired me to tell thee, I should not be able to declare my opinion, before the Spirit shall have revealed it to me. If the Spirit doth dictate it to thee, go and speak with him. Dentsch hath had a revelation, and the Spirit hath assured him," &c. This foolish language betrays itself, and serves for a palpable evidence, that it never proceeded from the pen of any of the people called Quakers. But perhaps the author of that letter knew a secret of state, whereof (to remain unknown) he would

acquaint the world in a ridiculous way; that under the cloak of being a Quaker, he should best continue undiscovered, and that by this device the letter would spread the more, as indeed it did; for it had a very quick vent.



THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
RISE AND PROGRESS  
OF THE  
SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

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THE ELEVENTH BOOK.

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I Proceed now to the year 1689, in the beginning of which the peers of the realm, &c. offered the administration of the government to the prince of Orange, which he accepted of. Not long after he called a convention of the commons; for a parliament it could not be named, since in England none but a king has power to call a parliament. In the meanwhile the prince had caused the princess his consort, to come over from Holland into England; and at length the convention, after many great debates, came to this resolution, that the throne was vacant; the consequence of which was, that the prince and princess of Orange were declared by the names of *William the third*, and *Mary the second*, king and queen of England, &c. and accordingly were

were excluded from sitting in parliament. And those penal laws of which mention hath been made heretofore in due place, were now restrained except the test act, properly required for serving in high offices, and to keep out the Papists. The aforesaid act gave also liberty to dissenters to keep religious meetings, provided the doors were not locked, barred, or bolted, during the time of such meeting. But none of these dissenters were freed from paying tithes, or other church duties so called, to the clergy, nor from being cited before bishops courts. But this liberty of keeping public meetings was not allowed to Papists; for all that would participate of the said liberty, were required to take the oath of allegiance; yet to comply with the people called Quakers who for conscience sake scrupled to take any oath, this act enjoined that they should subscribe the following declaration:

“I *A. B.* do sincerely promise and solemnly declare, before God and the world, that I will be true and faithful to king William and queen Mary; and I do solemnly profess and declare, that I do from my heart abhor, detest and renounce, as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and position, that princes excommunicated or deprived by the pope, or any authority of the see of Rome, may be deposed or murdered

ed by their subjects, or any other whatsoever. And I declare that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have any power, jurisdiction, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm."

Besides this they were obliged to subscribe also another, with respect to their orthodoxy, and for excluding Socinianism.

"I *A. B.* profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his eternal Son, the true God, and in the holy Spirit, one God, blessed for evermore: and do acknowledge the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by divine inspiration."

And lest any Papist might make use of this declaration, there were required sufficient Protestant witnesses that the declarer was a Protestant dissenter. Besides no congregation or assembly for religious worship was permitted or allowed by this act, until the place of such meeting should be certified to the bishop of the diocese, or to the archdeacon of the archdeaconry; or to the justices of the peace at the general or quarter sessions of the peace for the county, city, or place, in which such meeting should be held and registered in the said bishop or archdeacon's court respectively, or records



at the said general or quarter-sessions: for which the registrar or clerk should not take greater fee or reward than sixpence.

By this we now see the religion of the Quakers, acknowledged and tolerated by an act of parliament; and themselves released from all persecution for performance of their public worship, and their refusal of the oath of allegiance. This was a work reserved for that great prince king William, who being born in a country where force upon conscience was abrogated, when a Protestant government was settled there, now also according to his ability introduced the like Christian liberty in England: but to release from the payment of tithes was beyond his reach, how unreasonably soever the clergy acted in this case; whereof about this time a notable instance was published in print, of one John Bishop, a countryman at Wortham, from whom for two years tithes there had been taken, horses, kine, and sheep, to the value of seventy-six pounds, according to the estimate of impartial persons, though rated by himself at eighty-three pounds. And yet the priest, Thomas Turlow, had declared upon his oath, that he believed that the tithes of every year's growth of the said John Bishop, did amount one year with another, to three pounds seventeen shillings and sixpence; but the charges were reckoned so high, and the rating of the dispossessed

goods was so very much beneath the real value that the loss thereby sustained was exceeding great.

In Barbadoes in the West Indies, where the inhabitants were marshalled to bear arms, the Quakers notwithstanding what had been ordered in their favour by king James, continued yet under hard sufferings, of which more in the sequel. They now that were thus oppressed sent over a petition to the king wherein they set forth how they were molested, and prayed for relief; which had such effect, that the king issued forth the following order.

At the council at Whitehall, Dec. 12, 1689.

Present the king's most excellent Majesty in council.

“ Upon reading a petition of the people called Quakers, inhabiting the island of Barbadoes setting forth, that because the said Quakers could not bear arms, nor take an oath in any case, they have suffered much by virtue of an act made to settle the militia in the said island; as in the petition hereunto annexed is more at large expressed; his majesty in council is graciously pleased to refer the matter of the said petition to the examination of James Kendal, Esq. his majesty's governor of Barbadoes for the time

being, who is to give the petitioners such relief in relation to the militia, as to him shall seem just and reasonable to answer their particular circumstances, and to make report thereof to his majesty.

“ Richard Collinge.”

This year deceased Alexander Parker, sometimes mentioned in this history, being a man not only of a godly life and conversation, but also of a goodly mien and grave deportment. In the following year, viz. that of 1690, Robert Barclay also departed this life; a man of eminent gifts and great endowments, expert not only in the languages of the learned, but also well versed in the writings of the ancient fathers, and other ecclesiastical writers, and furnished with a great understanding, being not only of a sound judgment, but also strong in arguments, and cheerful in sufferings. Besides, he was of a friendly and pleasant, yet grave conversation, and eminently fitted for composing of differences; and he really lived up to what he professed, being of an unblameable deportment, truly pious, and well beloved of those he conversed with. *And in this happy state it pleased God to take him away out of this vale of tears, into a glorious immortality, in the prime of his age, having not lived much above half the life of a man.*

t is commonly accounted viz. in his 42d year, on the third of October, at his house at Ury in Scotland, where he died of a sickness which did not last long; yet he signified with a good understanding, that it was well with him as to his soul.

This year Stephen Crisp wrote an epistle of tender love and brotherly advice to all the churches of Christ throughout the world, in which he exhorted them more particularly to charity; and since therein several remarkable duties are held forth and recommended, I cannot well omit to insert a copy of it here, which is as followeth :

“ Dearly beloved friends and brethen, gathered out of the world by the eternal arm and power of the mighty God, to bear his holy name in your generation; my love and life in the fellowship of the universal spirit salutes you all, and my prayer to God is, you may be kept steadfast and immoveable in the grace of God, and in the communion of his holy Spirit, that ye may bring forth fruit in abundance, according to the abundant mercy and grace bestowed upon you, to the glory of God, and to your mutual joy, comfort, and edification.

“ And that you may so do, let your eye be kept daily to the Lord, and behold and take notice

of the wondrous works that he hath wrought in you, and for you since the day ye were first quickened by his immortal word, and stirred up to seek after him, and to wait upon him; how good and gracious he hath been to you, in bringing you from the barren mountains, where your souls languished for the heavenly nourishment; where you knew not the Lord, nor one another but were without a comforter, or any to sympathize with you in your mournings; Oh! how hath he pitied your groanings, and had compassion on your sighings, and brought you into acquaintance with those that were in the like exercises; and then he taught you to believe on him that was able to help you: and those that were thus taught of the Father, and felt his drawing cords of love prevailing upon them; these came to Christ their Saviour, and in him began to feel a unity with one another, in the faith, you had received in him; whereby you believed he would give you of his spirit to teach and guide you in the way of truth, righteousness, and peace; and thus was the foundation of your holy communion laid, and a lively hope raised in each particular soul, that he that had begun this blessed work would carry it on; and this hope made you that you were not ashamed to make a public profession *of his name before the world*; but cheerfully to *take up his cross, and deny yourselves of your former pleasures, friendships, and delights of*

this world: this hope hath been your support in many sharp trials, and bitter combats you have had with the enemy of your soul's peace within, and with the enemies of God's holy way and truth without; and in all your conflicts you have found him nigh at hand, to put forth his power on your behalf, as you have depended upon him for assistance; and by these experiences of his goodness, your faith hath been strengthened; and by the same word of life that quickened you, many more have been reached unto, so that you have seen a daily addition of strength in the particular, and also an addition to your number, to your great comfort and encouragement; and many have come to wait upon the Lord among you; and many are daily enquiring the way to Zion, with their faces thitherward. These things are worth your remembrance and serious considerations, that you may look upon these great mercies as obligations upon your souls, to walk humbly before the Lord, and to be devout and fervent in your testimony, for that God that hath done thus great things for you.

“And, friends, consider of the great works that this mighty arm of the Lord hath brought to pass in the general, as well as in the particular; *how many contrivances have been framed, and laws and decrees made to lay you waste, and to make you cease to be a people, and how*

have the wicked rejoiced thereat, (for a season) crying, "Ah, ah! thus would we have it; they are all now given up to banishments, to imprisonments, to spoils and ruins: now let us see if that invisible arm they trust in can deliver them." Oh friends! how hath your God been your support in the midst of all these exercises? And when he hath pleased, how hath he quieted the sharpest storms, and turned back the greatest floods and torrents of persecution, that ever you met? And how hath he confounded his and your enemies, and brought confusion upon the heads of them that sought your hurt? Were not these things wrought by the power of God? Did your number, your policy, your interest, or any thing that might be called your own, contribute any thing to these your great preservations and deliverances? If not, then let God have the glory, and acknowledge, to his praise, these have been the Lord's doings, and are marvellous in our eyes.

"Again, dear friends, consider how the wicked one hath wrought in a mystery among yourselves, to scatter you, and to lay you waste from being a people as at this day; how many several ways hath he tried, raising up men of perverse minds, to subvert and to turn you from *the faith*, and from the simplicity that is in *Christ Jesus* our Lord; and to separate you from that invisible power that hath been your

strength, and to separate you one from another, and by subtle wiles to lead you into a false liberty above the cross of Christ; and sometimes by sowing seeds of heresy and seditions, endeavouring to corrupt the minds of whom they could with pernicious principles; but oh, how have their designs been frustrated, and the authors thereof confounded and brought to nought: and how have you been preserved as a flock under the hand of a careful shepherd, even unto this day, which ministers great cause of thanksgiving unto all the faithful, who have witnessed the working of this preserving power in their own particulars.

“Also, my friends, it is worth your considerations, to behold how that by this invisible power so many faithful watchmen are raised up upon the walls of your Zion; that in most of your meetings there be men and women, upon whom God hath laid a concern to be taking care for the good of the whole; and to take the oversight upon them, to see all things kept in good and decent order, and to make due provision for the comforting and relieving the necessities of the needy and distressed; that nothing be lacking to make your way comfortable; and these have not been, nor are brought under this charge by *any act of yours*, but God hath *raised up pastors and teachers, elders and deacons of his own election and choice*, and bowed



their spirits to take upon them the work and service to which they are appointed, for the Lord's sake, and for the body's sake, which is the church; to whom it may truly be said, as in Acts xx. 28. "Take ye heed to the flock of God, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers," &c. And such ought to be hearkened to in the discharge of their trust, as those that must give an account to him that called them, and gifted them for their several works and services in the church.

"And by these ways and means hath the Lord established among you a heavenly government, and built as it were a hedge about you, that ye may be preserved from generation to generation, a people fitted for the glory that is, and shall daily more and more be revealed among and upon the faithful, who delight in that power that called them to be saints, and to bear a profession for the holy name of God, against the many names and ways that men in their changeable minds have set up, that the name of the Lord alone may be exalted.

"And dear friends and brethren, I intreat you, that the consideration of these great and weighty things which God hath wrought for you, and among you, may have that deep and *weighty influence* upon your souls, that ye may *find yourselves engaged* to answer the love and *mercy of God* in your lives and conversations.

and in all you have to do in this world ; that ye may shew forth the honour of God in all things, that the light which hath shined in you, may shine forth through you unto others, who yet sit in darkness ; that all men may know by your innocent and harmless conversations, and by your closely keeping to the Lord, that ye are a people who are assisted and helped by a supernatural power, which governs your wills, and subjects them to his blessed will ; and that guides and orders your affections, and sets them upon heavenly and divine objects, and that gives you power to deny your own private interests, where they happen to stand in competition with the interest of truth ; for these, and these only, will be found the true disciples of our Lord Jesus Christ, who can deny themselves, take up a cross daily, and follow him in the guidance of his regenerating power ; which brings death upon self, and crucifies the old nature, with its affections and lusts, and raiseth up a birth in you, that hath a holy will and desire to serve the Lord, and do his will in the earth ; and such as these are instruments in the hand of God for him to work by, and to do works of righteousness, of justice, of charity, and all other the virtues belonging to a Christian life, to the honour of God, and for the comfort and benefit of his church and people.

“ And all you, dear friends, upon whom the

Lord hath laid a care for his honour, and for the prosperity of the truth; and gathered you into the good order of the gospel, to meet together to manage the affairs thereof; take heed that ye have a single eye to the Lord, to do the Lord's business in the leadings of his spirit, which is but one, and brings all (that are given up to be governed by it) to be of one mind and heart, at least in the general purpose and service of those meetings: although through the diversity of exercises, and the several degrees of growth among the brethren, every one may not see or understand alike in every matter, at the first propounding of it; yet this makes no breach of the unity, nor hinders the brotherly kindness, but puts you often upon an exercise and an inward travailing, to feel the pure peaceable wisdom that is from above to open among you; and every one's ear is open to it, in whomsoever it speaks, and thereby a sense of life is given in the meeting, to which all that are of a simple and tender mind join and agree; but if any among you should be contrary minded in the management of some outward affair, relating to the truth, this doth not presently break the unity that ye have in Christ; nor should weaken the brotherly love, so long as he keeps *waiting* for an understanding from God, to be *gathered* into the same sense with you, and *walks* with you according to the law of charity.

Such a one ought to be borne with and cherished, and the supplications of your souls should go up to God for him, that God may reveal it to him if it be his will; that no difference may be in understanding, so far as is necessary for the good of the church, no more than there is in matters of faith and obedience to God; for, my friends, it is not of absolute necessity that every member of the church should have the same measure of understanding in all things; for then where were the duty of the strong bearing with the weak? Then where were the brother of low degree? Where would be any submitting to them that are set over others in the Lord; which all tend to the preserving unity in the church, notwithstanding the different measures and different growths of the members thereof; for as the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets; so are the spirits of all that are kept in a true subjection to the spirit of life in themselves, kept in the same subjection to the sense of life given by the same spirit in the church; and by this means we come to know the one master, even Christ, and have no room for other masters in the matter of our obedience to God; and while every one keeps in this true subjection, the sweet concord is known, and the oil is not only upon *Aaron's head*, but it reacheth the skirts of his *garment also*; and things are kept sweet and

savoury, and ye love one another from the greatest to the least in sincerity, and (as the apostle saith) without dissimulation; and this love excludes all whisperings of evil things; all backbiting, tale-bearing, grudgings, and murmurings; and keeps friends minds clean one towards another, waiting for every opportunity to do each other good, and to preserve each other's reputation; and their hearts are comforted at the sight of one another; and in all their affairs, both relating to the church, and to the world, they will be watchful over their own spirits, and keep in the Lord's power, over that nature and ground in themselves that would be apt to take an offence, or construe any word or action to a worse sense than the simplicity thereof, or the intention of the other concerned will allow of.

“And whereas it may often fall out, that among a great many, some may have a different apprehension of a matter from the rest of their brethren, especially in outward or temporal things; there ought to be a Christian liberty maintained for such to express their sense with freedom of mind, or else they will go away burdened; whereas if they speak their minds freely, and a friendly and Christian conference be admitted thereupon, they may be eased, and oftentimes the different apprehension of words as one comes to be wholly removed, and the

understanding opened, to see as the rest see ; for the danger in society doth not lie so much in that, that some few may have a differing apprehension in some things from the general sense ; as it doth in this, namely, when such that so differ, do suffer themselves to be led out of the bond of charity, and shall labour to impose their private sense upon the rest of their brethren, and to be offended and angry if it be not received ; this is the seed of sedition and strife that hath grown up in too many, to their own hurt.

“ And therefore, my dear friends, beware of it, and seek not to drive a matter on in fierceness or in anger, nor to take offence into your minds at any time, because what seems to be clear to you, is not presently received ; but let all things in the church be propounded with an awful reverence for him that is the head and life of it ; who hath said, “ Where two or three are met in my name, I will be in the midst of them.” And so he is, and may be felt by all who keep in his spirit : but he that follows his own spirit, sees nothing as he ought to see it. Therefore let all beware of their own spirits and natural tempers, (as they are sometimes called) but let all keep in a gracious temper ; then ye are fit for the service of the house of God, whose house ye are, as ye keep upon the foundation that God hath laid ; and he will

build you up, and teach you how to ~~but~~  
 one another in him, and as every member  
 feel life in themselves, and all from one;  
 this life will not hurt itself in any, but be  
 of the life in all; for by this one life  
 word ye were begotten, and by it ye are  
 ished, and made to grow into your several  
 vices in the church of God: it is no  
 learning, nor artificial acquirements; it  
 man's riches nor greatness in this world  
 is no man's eloquence and natural wisdom  
 makes him fit for government in the church  
 Christ; unless he, with all his endowments  
 seasoned with the heavenly salt, and his  
 subjected, and his gifts pass through the  
 of God's altar, a sacrifice to his praise and  
 our; that so self be crucified and baptised  
 death, and the gifts made use of in the  
 of the resurrection of the life of Jesus in  
 and when this great work is wrought in a  
 then all his gifts and qualifications are  
 fied, and they are made use of for the good  
 the body, which is the church; and are  
 ornaments and jewels, which serve for the  
 and comfort of all who are partakers  
 same divine fellowship of life in Christ  
 our Lord; and thus come many to be  
*and furnished to good works, which are be-*  
*forth in their due seasons, for edification*  
*building up the weak, and for repair*

decayed places, and also for defence of them that are feeble, that hurtful things may not come near them.

“Ob friends! great is the work the Lord hath called you to, and is a fitting you for, who innocently wait upon him; and the Lord hath opened my heart unto you, and laid it upon me to exhort and beseech you to have a care that ye quit yourselves as ye ought, in what God requires of you; and for the more particular expressing what lies before me in the matter, I shall set down a few particular observations for your benefit and advantage; and my soul's desire is, that my labour of love may have a good effect in all your bosoms, that God may be honoured thereby. And, friends, ye know the chief business, to which ye are called in your particular mens and womens meetings, is under these two heads, justice and charity; the first, to see that every one hath right done him; and the other, to take care there be nothing lacking to the comfort of the poor, that are made partakers of the same faith with you.

“And when ye meet about these things, keep the Lord in your eye, and wait to feel his power to guide and direct you, to speak and behave yourselves in the church of God, as becomes the peaceable gospel: and beware of all brittleness of spirit, and sharp reflections upon each others words; for that will kindle up heats, and



create a false fire ; and when one takes a liberty of a sharp word spoken out of the true fear and tenderness, it oftentimes becomes a temptation to another ; and if he hath not a great care, it will draw him out also, and then the first is guilty of two evils, first being led into a temptation, and then secondly, he becomes a tempter to others ; therefore all had need be upon their watch, neither to tempt, nor be tempted ; and let none think it a sufficient excuse for them that they were provoked ; for we are as answerable to God for every evil word spoken upon provocation as without provocation ; for, for that end hath the Lord revealed his power to us, to keep and preserve us in his fear and counsel in the time of our provocations ; and therefore if any man through want of watchfulness, should be overtaken with heat or passion, a soft answer appeaseth wrath, saith the wise man ; and therefore such a time is fittest for a soft answer, lest the enemy prevail on any to their hurt, and to the grief and trouble of their brethren ; for it is the proper duty of watchmen and overseers, to spare the flock ; that is, let nothing come nigh them that will hurt them, and wound and grieve them ; nay, the good apostle was so careful over the *flock of believers*, that if there were any doubtful matters to be disputed of, he would not have them that were weak in the faith at such

disputes: much less ought they that are weak, to see those that are strong, descend from their strength, and go into the weakness where they are not able to bear, for that is certainly the weak that cannot bear: those that really live in the strength and power, they can bear even burdens for them that cannot bear their own. The apostle in the place before mentioned, when he sent for the elders of Ephesus to Miletus, and left a charge with them, before he said, take heed to the flock of God; he said "Take ye heed to yourselves:" and indeed we are none of us like to discharge ourselves well towards others, but by taking heed to ourselves, to be kept in that sober innocent frame of spirit which the truth calls for.

"In the next place, my dear friends, when ye are called upon in point of justice, to give a sentence of right between friend and friend, take heed that neither party get possession of your spirit aforehand, by any way or means whatsoever, or obtain any word or sentence from you in the absence of the other party, he not being yet heard: there is nothing more comely among men than impartial judgment; judgment is a seat where neither interest, nor affection, nor former kindnesses may come; we may make no difference of the worthiness or unworthiness of persons in judgment, as we may in charity; but in judgment, if a good

man, being mistaken, hath a bad cause, or a bad man a good cause, according to his cause must he have sentence. It was a good saying, he that judged among men, judgeth for the Lord, and he will repay it. Therefore let all be done as unto the Lord, and as ye are willing to answer it in his presence; and although some may for a time be discontent thereat, yet in time God shall clear up your innocency as the sun at noon day; and they that kick at sound judgment, will find but hard work of it; they do but kick against that which will prick them; and however such, through their wilfulness, and their abounding in their own sense may hurt themselves, yet you will be preserved, and enjoy your peace and satisfaction in the discharge of your consciences in the sight of God.

“And as concerning practical charity, ye know it is supported by liberality, and where liberality ceaseth, charity waxeth cold, yea, so far ceaseth; where there is no contribution, there is no distribution; where the one is sparing, the other is sparing; and therefore let every one nourish charity in the root, that is, keep a liberal mind; a heart that looks upon the substance that is given him, as really bestowed upon him for the support of charity, as for the support of his own body; and where people are of this mind, they will have a care at

keeping back any of God's part, for he hath in all ages, in a most singular manner, espoused the cause of the poor, the widow, and fatherless; and hath often signified by his prophets and ministers, a special charge upon rich men that had this world's goods, that they should look to it that they were faithful stewards of what they possessed, and that they might be found in good works, and might not suffer their hearts so to cleave to uncertain riches, as to neglect the service God had given them the things of this life for: either to give them up when called for in a testimony of his worthy name, or to communicate of them to those that were in necessity.

“Now as concerning the necessities of the poor, there is great need of wisdom when ye meet together about that affair; for as I said before, though the worthiness or unworthiness of persons is not to be considered in judgment, yet in this it is; and you will find some that God hath made poor, and some that have made themselves poor, and some that have made others poor, which must all have their several considerations; in which you ought to labour to be unanimous, and not one to be taken up with an affection to one person more than another: but every one to love every one in the universal spirit, and then to deal out that love in the outward manifestation thereof, according to the

measure that the Lord in his wisdom working in you, shall measure forth to them.

And to those who by sickness, lameness, age, or other impotency, are brought into poverty by the hand of providence; these are your peculiar care and objects pointed out to you, to bestow your charity upon, for by them the Lord calls for it; for as the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness of it, he hath by his sovereign power commanded in every dispensation, that a part of what we enjoy from him should be thus employed. The Israelites were not to gather the gleanings of the corn nor vintage; it was for the poor; and in the time of the gospel, they were to lay apart on the first day of the week, a part of what God had blessed them with, for the relief of those that were in necessity, nay, they did not confine themselves in their charity to their own meetings, but had an universal eye through the whole church of Christ, and upon extraordinary occasions, sent their benevolence to relieve the saints at Jerusalem in a time of need; and all that keep in the guidance of the same universal Spirit, will make it their business to be found in the same practice of charity and good works. To do good, and communicate, forget not, saith the apostle: so they that forget not this Christian duty, will find out the poor's part in the corners and gleanings of the profits of their trades and merchandizing, as well

as the old Israelite did the corners and gleanings of his field ; and in the distribution of it, will have a regard to comfort the bowels of such, who are by the divine providence of God, put out of a capacity of enjoying those outward comforts of health, and strength, and plenty, which others do enjoy ; for while they are partakers of the same faith, and walk in the way of righteousness with you, submitting themselves patiently to the dispensation of God's providence towards them, they are of your household, and under your care, both to visit, and to relieve as members of one body, of which Christ Jesus is the head ; and he that giveth to the poor, lendeth to the Lord, and he will repay it.

But there is another sort of poor, who make themselves poor through their sloth and carelessness, and sometimes by their wilfulness, being heady and high-minded, and taking things in hand that are more than they can manage, and make a flourish for a season, and then, through their own neglects, are plunged down into great poverty. These are a sort the primitive churches began to be troubled withal in the early days of the gospel ; for the apostle took notice of some that would not work at all, and sharply reprov'd them, and said, "*They that would not work, neither should they eat :*" and *these are commonly a sort of busy-bodies, and meddlers with others' matters, while they neg*

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soon it may be our turn ; and if there be need of counsel and advice, or if any applications can be made to any that are able to deliver them from the oppressors ; in such cases, let all that are capable be ready and willing to advise, relieve, and help the distressed ; and this is an acceptable work of charity, and a great comfort to such in their sharp afflictions, and their souls will bless the instruments of their ease and comfort.

“ And, my dear friends, as God hath honoured you with so high and holy a calling, to be his servants and workmen in this his great and notable day, and to work together in his power, in setting forth his praise and glory in the earth, and gathering together in one the scattered seed in this and other nations. Oh, let the dignity of your calling, provoke and encourage you to be diligent attenders upon this work and service you are called to, and let not your concerns in the world, draw you from observing the times and seasons appointed to meet together ; but you that are elder, set a good example to the younger sort, by a due observance of the hour appointed, that they that come first one time, may not by their long staying for others be discouraged, so as perhaps they may be lost another time : *but when the time is come, leave your business for the Lord's work, and he will take care your business shall not suffer, but will add*



a blessing upon it, which will do more for you than the time can do that might be saved out of his service.

“And when you have to do with perverse, and froward or disorderly persons, whom ye have occasion to reprove, and to rebuke for truth's sake, and you find them stout and high, and reflecting upon you : then is a time for the Lamb's meekness to shine forth, and for you to feel your authority in the name of Christ, to deal with such an one, and to wait for the pure and peaceable wisdom from above, to bring down and confound the earthly wisdom. And in this frame of mind you labour together to pull the entangled sheep out of the thicket, and to restore that which is gone astray, to the fold again, if you can ; but if you cannot, yet you save yourselves from the guilt of his blood : and if such do perish, his blood will be on his own head ; but on the other hand, if ye suffer their perverse spirits to enter, and their provocations to have a place in you, so as to kindle your spirits into a heat and passion, then you get a hurt, and are incapable to do them any good ; but words will break out that will need repentance, and the wicked will be stiffened and strengthened thereby, and you miss the service that you did really *intend*. Therefore, my dearly beloved, *keep upon your watch, keep on your spiritual armour, keep your feet shod with the preparation of the*

gospel of peace, and the God of peace will be with you, and crown your endeavours with good success, to your joy and comfort, and will bring up his power over your adversaries and opposers more and more, to which many shall bow and bend in your sight; and will bring shame and confusion upon the rebellious, who harden their necks against the Lord, and his Christ, and kingdom: which he will exalt in the earth; notwithstanding all that Satan, and all his evil instruments can do to hinder the growth and progress of his blessed truth: for of the increase of the government, and of the peace of the kingdom of Christ, there shall be no end.

“And now, friends, I having declared my conscience of what lay upon me for sometime, to write by way of remembrance, and as the exhortation of my life unto you, I remain travelling in spirit for the welfare of Zion: and although the outward man decays, yet in the inward man I am comforted, in beholding daily the great things that our God hath done, and is still doing, for those that have their sole dependance upon him. So committing you to the grace of God, for your directer and preserver, in these and all your several services unto which God hath called you, that by the operations of his mighty power ye may be kept blameless and unspotted of the world, to his honour and your comfort, and to the universal comfort and edifi-

cation of the church, that so praises and thanksgivings may fill your hearts and mouths, your families, and your meetings; for he is worthy, who is our tower, our support, the Lord of hosts the King of saints, to whom be glory, honour, and renown, through this and all generations, for ever and ever. Amen.

“From your friend and brother in the communion and fellowship of the gospel of peace and purity.

“Stephen Crisp,”

London, the 15th  
of the 7th month, 1690.

Passing now by other matters of of this year, we step to the next, being that of 1691, about the beginning of which G. Fox departed this life, who, even in the last period wrote much, and continued laborious without fainting. The last epistle I find of his, was to his friends and brethren in Ireland, who, because of the revolution and troubles there, suffered much, chiefly as I think by the Papists; and therefore in the said epistle he exhorted his friends to steadfastness. This was in the month called January; and the next day, being the first of the week, and the 11th of the said month, he went to the meeting at Gracechurch-street, where he preached very effectually, treating of many things with great power and clearness; and

ended with a prayer. After which, the meeting ending, he went to Henry Gouldney's site Hart court, near the meeting house, where he said to some that came with him, he thought he felt the cold strike to his heart, as he went out of the meeting. Yet added, "I am glad I was here: now I am clear; I am clear." When those friends that were with him were withdrawn, he lay down in his chamber upon a bed, but soon rose again; yet after a little time he lay down again, complaining of cold; and his strength decaying, he lay long after undressed, and went to bed, where he lay in much contentment and resignation, continuing very sensible to the last. His strength increasing, and perhaps perceiving his end was at hand, he recommended to some of his friends that came to him after having been sent for, the spreading of books containing the doctrine of truth. And to some others that came to visit him in his illness, he said, "God is well, the seed of God reigns over all, and over death itself. And though (continued) I am weak in body, yet the power of God is all, and the seed reigns over all disorderly things." He used often, even in his preaching, to speak of Christ, to call him the seed; and before those that were with him, very well *what he meant when he spoke of the seed.* He lay in a heavenly frame of mind, his

spirit being wholly exercised towards the Lord; and he grew weaker and weaker in body, until on the third day of the week, and of his sickness also, he piously departed this life. About four or five hours before, being asked, how he did, he answered, "Do, not heed, the power of the Lord is above all sickness and death; the Lord reigns, blessed be the Lord. And thus triumphing over death, he departed from hence in peace, and slept sweetly on the 13th of the month, anciently called January, (for being as a door or entrance into the new year) about ten o'clock at night, in the 67th year of his age. His body was buried near Bunhill fields, on the 16th of the said month, the corpse being accompanied by great numbers of his friends, and of other people also; for though he had had many enemies, yet he had made himself also beloved of many.

He was tall of stature, and pretty big bodied, yet very moderate in meat and drink; neither did he yield much to sleep. He was a man of a deep understanding, and of a discerning spirit; and though his words were not always linked together by a neat grammatical connexion, and his speech sometimes seemed abrupt, as with a kind of gap; yet he expressed himself intelligently, and what was wanting in human wisdom, was abundantly supplied with heavenly knowledge. He was of a quick apprehension, and

his wit was not polished by human art, he was ingenious; and in his prayers generally were not very long, though full, appeared a decent gravity, mixed with full reverence, to admiration. His qualities at large set forth by Thomas Ellwood, eminent author, who having much conversed with him, gave the following character of him. He was indeed an heavenly minded man, zealous of the name of the Lord, and preferred the service of God before all things. He was valiant for the truth, bold in asserting it, patient in labouring for it, unwearied in labouring in it, firm in his testimony to it, immoveable as a rock. Deep he was in divine knowledge, clearing heavenly mysteries, plain and powerfully preaching, fervent in prayer. He was endued with heavenly wisdom, quick in reasoning, sound in judgment; able and ready in giving counsel; a lover of righteousness, an encourager of virtue, just, temperance, meekness, purity, chastity, humility, charity, and self denial in all, by word and example. Graceful he was in countenance, manly in personage, grave in demeanour, courteous in conversation, weighty in communication, instructive in discourse; free from affectation in speech and carriage. A reprover of hard and obstinate sinners, a

mild and gentle admonisher of such as were tender and sensible of their failings. Not apt to resent personal wrongs, easy to forgive injuries; but zealously earnest, where the honour of God, the prosperity of truth, the peace of the church were concerned. Very tender, compassionate, and pitiful he was to all, that were under any sort of affliction; full of brotherly love, full of fatherly care: for indeed the care of the churches of Christ was daily upon him, the prosperity and peace whereof he studiously sought." Yet more is said of him to his praise, both by the said Thomas Ellwood and others, but I will not detain my reader any longer therewith. His wife, about six months before his death, came to him in London, and being glad of his health, which then was better than sometime before, she, after some stay in the said city, returned home well satisfied, leaving him in London, where his general service to the church seemed to be then most requisite. After his decease an epistle was found, which was written with his own hand, and left sealed up with this superscription, "Not to be opened before the time." What this signified, seemed to be a riddle, but he being now deceased, it was judged to be the time to open this letter, which was directed to his friends, *and was as followeth.*

For the yearly and second days meeting in London, and to all the children of God in all places in the world. By and from G. Fox.

This for all the children of God every where, that are led by his spirit, and do walk in his light, in which they have life, and unity, and fellowship with the Father, and the Son, and one with another.

“Keep all your meetings in the name of the Lord Jesus, that be gathered in his name by his light, grace, truth, power and spirit; by which you will feel his blessed and refreshing presence among you, and in you, to your comfort and God's glory.

“And now all friends, all your meetings both mens and womens, monthly and quarterly, and yearly, &c. were set up by the power, and spirit, and wisdom of God: and in them you do know that you have felt both his power, and spirit, and wisdom, and blessed refreshing presence among you, and in you, to his praise and glory, and your comfort; so that you have been a city set on a hill, that cannot be hid.

“And although many loose and unruly spirits have risen *betimes* to oppose you and them, *both in print and other ways*; but you have *seen how they have come to nought*; and the



Lord hath blasted them, and brought their deeds to light, and made them manifest to be the trees without fruit, and wells without water and wandering stars from the firmament of God's power, and the raging waves of the sea casting up their mire and dirt: and many of them are like the dog turned to his old vomit and the sow that was washed, turned again to the mire. And this hath been the condition of many, God knoweth, and his people.

"And therefore all to stand steadfast in Christ Jesus your head, in whom you are all one, male and female, and know his government, and of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end; but there will be an end of the devil's, and of all them that be out of Christ and do oppose it and him, whose judgment doth not linger, and their damnation doth not slumber: and therefore in God and Christ's light, life, spirit and power, live and walk, that is over all (and the seed of it) in love and in innocency, and in simplicity; and in righteousness and holiness dwell, and in his power and Holy Ghost, in which God's kingdom doth stand. All children of new and heavenly Jerusalem, that is from above, and is free, with all her holy, spiritual children, to her keep *your eyes.*

"And as for this spirit of rebellion and opposition, that hath risen formerly and lately, it

out of the kingdom of God and heavenly Jerusalem; and is for judgment and condemnation, with all its books, words and works. And therefore friends are to live and walk in the power and spirit of God, that is over it, and in the seed, that will bruise and break it to pieces: in which seed you have joy and peace with God, and power and authority to judge it; and your unity is in the power and spirit of God, that doth judge it: and all God's witnesses in his tabernacle go out against it; and always have and will.

“And let no man live to self, but to the Lord, as they will die in him; and seek the peace of the church of Christ, and the peace of all men in him: for blessed are the peace makers. And dwell in the pure, peaceable, heavenly wisdom of God, that is gentle and easy to be intreated, that is full of mercy: all striving to be of one mind, heart, soul, and judgment in Christ, having his mind and spirit dwelling in you, building up one another in the love of God, which doth edify the body of Christ, his church, who is the holy head thereof. So glory to God through Christ, in this age, and all other ages, who is the rock and foundation, and the Immanuel, God with us, Amen, over all, the beginning and the ending; in him live and walk, *in whom you have life eternal, in whom you will feel me, and I you.*

All children of new Jerusalem, that descends from above, the holy city, which the Lord and the Lamb is the light thereof, and is the temple; in it they are born again of the spirit: so Jerusalem that is above is the mother of them that are born of the spirit. And so they that come, and are come, to heavenly Jerusalem, are them that receive Christ; and he giveth them power to become the sons of God, and are born again of the spirit; so Jerusalem, that is their mother. And such do come to heavenly mount Sion, and the innumerable company of angels, and to the spirits of just men made perfect; and are come to the church of the living God written in heaven, and have the name of God, and the city of God written upon them; so here is a new mother, that bringeth forth a heavenly and a spiritual generation.

“There is no schism, nor division, nor contention, nor strife, in heavenly Jerusalem, nor in the body of Christ, which is made up of living stones, a spiritual house. And Christ is not divided, for in him there is peace. Christ saith, in me you have peace. And he is from above, and not of this world; but in the world below, in the spirit of it there is trouble: therefore keep in Christ, and walk in him, Amen.

G. F.

*Jerusalem was the mother of all true Christ*

tians before the apostacy; and since, the outward Christians are broken into many sects, and they have gotten many mothers; but all they that are come out of the apostacy by the power and spirit of Christ, Jerusalem that is above, is their mother, (and now below her;) who doth nourish all her spiritual children.

Read at the Yearly Meeting  
in London, 1691.

G. F.

This year I find that William Goodridge, of Banwell in Somersetshire, was released from prison, where he had been confined about thirteen years. He had been premunired for refusing to take the oath; and his goods, whereof the moveables were rated at about two hundred and forty four pounds, and the real estate counted worth sixty pounds per annum, were confiscated. Thus to suffer spoil of goods hath been the lot of many others, and among these was Benjamin Brown, an ancient man, of Brownish in Suffolk, who also, for not taking the oath, was stripped of all, so that his wife and child were fain to lie on the floor without a bed.

Now time calls me to say something of the apostacy of George Keith, who being in Pennsylvania, made a great bustle there. He was a witty person, and esteemed very learned; and

at the university obtained the degree of master of arts. He often also gave proofs of an high soaring knowledge, and was very ready to shew from philosophy the reasons and causes of many things in the creation; but the doctrine of Francis Mercurius, baron of Helmons, concerning the transmigration of souls, became so palatable to him, that he not only in some manner approved it, but also was believed to be concerned in the book containing two hundred queries about that matter, great part of which, as I have been informed, he acknowledged to have been put in writing by himself, though it appeared in public without the author's name. But this notion meeting with no acceptance among the Quakers, his love to them began to abate; and his discontent increased, because two persons, who opposed him, had (as he said) used some unwarrantable expressions, and were not so sharply reproved, as he, who was of a fiery temper, desired. He accused them that they had said, that the light within was sufficient to salvation, without any thing else. From whence he endeavoured to prove, that they excluded the man Jesus Christ, as not necessary to salvation; but they denied this to be their doctrine.

*He afterwards said of William Stockdell, one of those two persons at Philadelphia in Pennsylvania, that he had charged him G. K. to*

have preached two Christs, because he preached faith in Christ within, and in Christ without us. Now though Stockdell would not allow this to be true, and some of the hearers also denied it, though asserted by two others of his party, yet G. Keith blew the fire of this quarrel, and so got some adherents. He also charged the deputy-governor, Thomas Lloyd, to have said, that faith in Christ without us, as he died for our sins, and rose again, was not necessary to our salvation. But others said, that the words were not so, and that the matter was not fairly stated; since the question was not, whether faith in Christ without us, as he died for our sins, and rose again, was not necessary to our salvation; but whether that faith were indispensably necessary to all mankind, and that none could be saved without it, though they had not the means, opportunity, or capacity to know or receive it. Which being asserted, it was thought that such a position did not only exclude from salvation whole nations, but also infants, and deaf and dumb persons. Better had it been that such questions never had been started; for a passionate maintaining of a different position often breeds strife and contention. But G. Keith, with some others, having now separated themselves from the society, he said, *his dissatisfaction was only with some un-*

sound Quakers in America; but he was in unity with all faithful friends in England.

And now he began to behave himself very disrespectfully, and was on that account sharply reproved by the aforesaid Thomas Lloyd; to whom he did not hesitate to speak in a reproachful way, charging him with impudence, and saying, that he was unfit to be a governor, and that his name should stink, &c. And because some members of the council did not expect to be better treated by him, since he had called one of the magistrates impudent rascal; this was much resented, and the more, because G. Keith having drawn in a printer, published a paper, wherein he not only scandalously slandered the diligence of the magistrates in restraining of robbers, but also the judicial proceedings against murderers. And seeing several Menonites of the county of Meurs lived also in Pennsylvania, it was not much to be wondered that they who count it unlawful for a Christian to bear the sword of magistracy, did stick to him; and to get adherents seemed the main thing he aimed at; for he himself was not trained up under such a notion, but in the doctrine of the kirk of Scotland. The consequence of this case, was, that Keith and one Thomas Bud, who (with him) had been compiler of the aforesaid paper, were fined for it; but yet the government was so moderate, that the fine was

never exacted : and for all that G. Keith did not hesitate to make a great clamour of his sufferings ; and about two years after he came into England, to make his complaint to the church in London.

This year in the month called August, Stephen Crisp deceased near London. He had long been weak in body, and was much afflicted with the stone, performing nevertheless his ministry of the gospel ; and his service was very acceptable, because he had a gift beyond many, being not only sound in doctrine and judgment, but grave and elegant in his utterance, and well qualified for convincing his hearers, and to touch them to the heart ; so that he generally met with a great concourse of people. Four days before his decease, lying sick in bed, and being under great pain, he was visited by G. Whitehead, to whom he said in substance, " I see an end of mortality, and yet cannot come at it, I desire the Lord to deliver me out of this painful body : if he will but say the word, it is done : yet there is no cloud in my way. I have a full assurance of my peace with God in Christ Jesus ; my integrity and uprightness of heart is known to the Lord ; and I have peace and justification in Jesus Christ, who made me so." The day before his departure G. Whitehead being come again to see him, found him in a dying state, and almost



speechless; yet he was understood to say, "I hope I am gathering, I hope, I hope." G. Whitehead near parting from him, asked him whether he had any thing to his friends; to which he gave this answer, "Remember my dear love in Jesus Christ to all friends." The next day, being the 28th of the ~~aforsaid~~ month, he died at Wandsworth, about five miles from London. Many of his sermons taken in shorthand from his mouth are published in print, and give proofs of his having been indeed an able minister of the gospel.

In this year died also Catharine Evans, who, as hath been mentioned here before, had been long imprisoned at Malta. She had suffered much for her religion; and in the year 1657, having at Salisbury exhorted the people to repentance, this so incensed the magistrates, that by order of Humphry Ditton, justice, and Robert Good, mayor, she was stripped, and fastened to the whipping post in the market, and then whipped. Afterwards coming thither again, and speaking to the people in the market, by way of admonition, she was sent to Bridewell, and put into a dark nasty place. After her return from Malta, imprisonment fell to her share several times; once at Welchpool in Montgomeryshire in the year 1666, for *refusing to swear*; and several years after she *was also imprisoned at Bristol.* And after

many adversities and great sufferings, having lived to a great age, she died, and so entered into everlasting rest.

Now I return again to George Keith, who appeared in the annual assembly in London, anno 1694, but there he shewed himself, so passionate and boisterous, that no means could be found to compose the difference. Yet he seemed to get adherents among some of the separatists about London : but these also soon growing weary of him, he got a place called Turner's Hall to preach in. Here at first he had a great concourse of people; since novelties generally beget curiosity. But he from time to time more and more courting those of the church of England, and falling in with the Episcopalians, began to lose his esteem among people of other persuasions, especially when at length he entirely conformed to that church, which formerly in print he had zealously attacked : but in process of time he took a gown, and was ordained to be a preacher. After which he sometimes preached with the surplice on, which in all probability he would have abhorred before ever he joined with the Quakers ; for he had been a member of the Presbyterian kirk of Scotland, which always hath been a zealous opposer of the episcopal ceremonies. *And since he had contradicted that, which formerly he had asserted and defended in good*

earnest; and charged the Quakers with a belief, which they never had owned to be theirs, they found themselves obliged publicly to set forth their faith anew in print, which they had often before asserted both in words and writing, thereby to manifest that their belief was really orthodox, and agreeable with the Holy Scriptures. This they did by the following representation, which in the year 1693, came forth in print in London, as follows, with this title,

**The Christian Doctrine, of the Society of the People called Quakers, cleared, &c.**

“WHEREAS divers accounts have been lately published in print, of some late division and disputes between some persons under the name of Quakers in Pennsylvania, about several fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith, (as is pretended by one party) which being particularly mentioned, and thereupon occasion very unduly taken by our adversaries to reproach both the Christian ministry, and whole body of the people commonly called Quakers, and their holy and Christian profession, both in England and elsewhere, though no ways concerned in the said division or matters charged, *but rather grieved and troubled at it, and at the indiscreet and reproachful management thereof in print, to the amusing and troubling*

the world therewith, and giving occasion to the loose, ignorant, and profane, to slight and condemn the truth, and the interest of the tender religion of our Lord Jesus Christ :

“ We are, therefore, tenderly concerned for truth’s sake, in behalf of the said people (as to the body of them, and for all of them who are sincere to God and faithful to their Christian principle and profession) to use our just endeavours to remove the reproach, and all causeless jealousies concerning us, touching those doctrines of Christianity, or any of them pretended (or supposed) to be in question in the said division; in relation whereunto we do in the fear of God, and in simplicity and plainness of his truth received, solemnly and sincerely declare what our Christian belief and profession has been, and still is, in respect to Jesus Christ the only begotten Son of God, his suffering, death, resurrection, glory, light, power, great day of judgment &c.

“ We sincerely profess faith in God by his only begotten Son Jesus Christ, as being our light and life, our only way to the Father, and also our only mediator and advocate with the Father (a)

That God created all things, he made the worlds, by his Son Jesus Christ, he being that

(a) 1 John ii. 2. John xiv. 6. 1 Tim. ii. 5

powerful and living word of God by whom all things were made (*b*); and that the Father, the Word, and the holy Spirit are one, in divine Being inseparable; one true, living and eternal God blessed for ever (*c*).

“ Yet that this Word, or Son of God in the fulness of time, took flesh, became perfect man, according to the flesh, descended and came of the seed of Abraham and David (*d*), but was miraculously conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary (*e*). And also farther, declared powerfully to be the Son of God, according to the spirit of sanctification, by the resurrection from the dead (*f*).

“ That in the word (or Son of God) was life, and the same life was the light of men; and that he was that true light which enlightens every man coming into the world (*g*); and therefore that men are to believe in the light, that they may become children of the light (*h*); hereby we believe in Christ the Son of God, as he is the light and life within us; and wherein we must needs have sincere respect and honour to (and belief in) Christ, as in his own unapproachable and incomprehensible glory and fulness (*i*): as he is the fountain of life and light, and

*b* Eph. iii. 9.      John i. 1. 2, 3.      Heb. i. 2.

*c* 1. John v. 7.

*d* Rom. i. 3, 4.

*e* Matt. i.

25.

*f* Rom. i. 3 4.

*g* John i. 4 9.

*h* John xii. 36.      Isa ii. 5.

*i* 1 Tim. vi. 16.

giver thereof unto us ; Christ, as in himself, and as in us, being not divided. . And that as man, Christ died for our sins, rose again, and was received up into glory, in the heavens (*k*). He having, in his dying for all, been that one great universal offering and sacrifice for peace, atonement and reconciliation between God and man (*l*) ; and he is the propitiation not for our sins only, but for the sins of the whole world (*m*). We were reconciled by his death, but saved by his life.

“That Jesus Christ, who sitteth at the right hand of the throne of the majesty in the heavens, yet he is our king, high priest and prophet (*n*), in his church, a minister of the sanctuary, and of the true tabernacle which the Lord pitched, and not man (*o*). He is intercessor and advocate with the Father in heaven, and there appearing in the presence of God for us (*p*) being touched with the feeling of our infirmities, sufferings and sorrows. And also by his spirit in our hearts, he maketh intercession according to the will of God, crying Abba, Father (*q*).

*k* 1 Pet. iii. 18. 1 Tim. iii. 16. Mat. xix. 28 and xxv. 31. Luke ix. 26. and xxiv. 26. *l* Rom. 5, 10, 11. Heb. ii. 17, 18. Eph. ii. 16, 17. Col. i. 20, 21, 22. *m* 1 John ii. 2. 2 Cor. v. 14, 15. Heb ii 9. *n* Zech. ix. 9. Luke xix. 33. John xii. 15. Heb. iii. 1. Deut. xviii. 15, 18. Acts. iii. 22, and vii. 37. *o* Heb viii. 1, 2. *p* Heb. vii. 25. Heb. ix. 24. *q* Rom. viii. 26, 27. 34. Gal. iv. 6

"For any whom God hath gifted (*r*) and called sincerely to preach faith in the same Christ, both as within and without us, cannot be to preach two Christs, but one and the same Lord Jesus Christ (*s*) having respect to those degrees of our spiritual knowledge of Christ Jesus in *us* (*t*), and to his own unspeakable fulness and glory (*u*), as in himself, in his own entire being, wherein Christ himself and the least measure of his light or life, as in us or in mankind, are not divided nor separable, no more than the sun is from its light. And as he ascended far above all heavens, that he might fill all things (*x*) his fulness cannot be comprehended, or contained in any finite creature (*y*); but in some measure known and experienced in us, as we are capable to receive the same, as of his fulness we have received grace for grace. Christ our Mediator, received the spirit, not by measure (*z*), but in fulness; but to every one of us is given grace, according to the measure of his gift (*a*).

That the gospel of the grace of God should be preached in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost (*b*), being one (*c*), in power, wisdom, and goodness, and indivisible, (or not

*r* Eph. iii 7.    *i* Pet. iv. 10.    *s* 1 Cor. viii. 6.  
*t* John xv. 26. and xvi. 13, 14, 15.    *u* John i. 16  
*a* Eph. iv. 10.    *y* Col. i. 19, and ii. 9.    *z* John  
*iii. 34.*    *a* Eph. iv. 7.    *b* Mat. xxviii. 19.  
*c* John i. 1, 2, 3, 4.

to be divided) in the great work of a man's salvation.

We sincerely confess (and believe in) Jesus Christ, both as he is true God and perfect man (*d*), and that he is the author, of our living faith in the power and goodness of God, as manifested in his son Jesus Christ, and by his own blessed spirit (or divine unction) revealed in us (*e*), whereby we inwardly feel and taste of his goodness (*f*) life and virtue; so as our souls live and prosper by and in him: and the inward sense of this divine power of Christ, and faith in the same, and this inward experience, is absolutely necessary to make a true sincere and perfect Christian in spirit and life.

That divine honour and worship is due to the Son of God (*g*); and that he is, in true faith to be prayed unto, and the name of the Lord Jesus Christ called upon (as the primitive Christians did) (*h*) because of the glorious union or oneness of the Father and the Son (*i*); and that we cannot acceptably offer up prayers and praises to God, nor receive a gracious answer or blessing from God, but in and through his dear Son Christ.

*d* John i. 1. 2. Rom. ix. 5. 1 John v. 20. 1 Tim. ii. 5. *e* 1 John ii, 20, 27. *f* 1 Pet. ii. 3. John vi. 33, 35, 51, 57, 58. *g* John. v, 23. Heb. i. 6. *h* 1 Cor. i. 2. Acts vii. 59. *i* John x. 30. 1 John v.



“That Christ’s body that was crucified was not the godhead, yet by the power of God was raised from the dead; and that the same Christ that was therein crucified, ascended into heaven and glory (*k*) is not questioned by us. His flesh saw no corruption (*l*) it did not corrupt, but yet doubtless his body was changed into a more glorious (*m*) and heavenly condition than it was in when subject to divers sufferings on earth; but how and what manner of change it met withal after it was raised from the dead, so as to become such a glorious body (as it is declared to be) is too wonderful for mortals to conceive, apprehend or pry into (and more meet for angels to see;) the scripture is silent therein, as to the manner thereof, and we are not curious to inquire or dispute it; nor do we esteem it necessary to make ourselves wise above (*n*) what is written as to the manner or condition of Christ’s glorious body, as in heaven; no more than to inquire how Christ appeared in divers manners or forms (*o*); or how he came in among his disciples, the doors being shut (*p*); or how he vanished out of their sight, after he was risen. However, we have cause to believe his body, as in heaven, is changed into a most glorious con-

<i>k</i> Luke xxiv. 26.	<i>l</i> Psal. xvi. 10.	Acts ii. 31.
and xiii. 35, 37.	<i>m</i> Phil. iii. 21.	<i>n</i> 1 Cor.
iv. 6.	<i>o</i> John xx. 15.	<i>p</i> John xx. 19. Luke
xxiv. 36, 37. and xxiv, 31.		

dition, far transcending what it was on the earth, otherwise how should our low body be changed, so as to be made like unto his glorious body (*q*); for when he was on the earth, and attended with sufferings, he was said to be like unto us in all things, sin only excepted (*r*); which may not be so said of him as now in a state of glory, as he prayed for (*s*), otherwise where would be the change both in him and in us.

True and living faith in Christ Jesus the Son of the living God (*t*), has respect to his entire being and fulness, to him entirely in himself, and as all power in heaven and in earth is given unto him (*u*): and also an eye and respect to the same Son of God (*x*) as inwardly making himself known in the soul, in every degree of his light, life, spirit, grace, and truth; and as he is both the word of faith, and a quickening spirit in us; (*y*) whereby he is the immediate cause, author, object; and strength of our living faith in his name and power; and of the work of our salvation from sin and the bondage of corruption; and the Son of God cannot be divided from the least or lowest appearance of his own divine light (or life in us or all mankind) no more than

*q* Phil. iii. 21.

*r* Heb. ii 17. and iv. 15.

*s* John xvii. 5.

*t* John xvi. 1

*u* Mat. xxviii

18. and xi 27. *John* xvii. 2. Heb. ii. 8.

*x* John xiv.

*29. and xvii.* 21, 22, 23, 24, 26.

*y* 1 Cor. xv. 45.

*Rom.* x. 7. 8.

the sun from its own light ; nor is the sufficiency of his light within us set up in opposition to him the man Christ, or his fulness considered as in himself, or without us ; nor can any measure or degree of light, received from Christ (as such) be properly called the fulness of Christ, or Christ as in fulness, nor exclude him (so considered) from being our complete Saviour ; for Christ himself to be our light, our life and Saviour (z) is so consistent, that without his light we could not know life, nor him to save us from sin or deliver us from darkness, condemnation or wrath to come : and where the least degree or measure of this light and life of Christ within is sincerely waited in, followed and obeyed ; there is a blessed increase of light and grace known and felt ; as the path of the just it shines more and more, until the perfect day (a) ; and thereby a growing in grace, and in the knowledge of God, and of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ hath been, and is truly experienced. And this light, life, or spirit of Christ within (for they are one divine principle) is sufficient to lead unto all truth ; having in it the divers ministrations of judgment and mercy, both of law and gospel (even that gospel which is preached in every intelligent creature under heaven : ) it does not only

*z* John i. 4, 9. and iii. 19, 20. and xii. 35, 36, 46. and viii. 12.

*a* Prov. iv. 18. Psal. xxxvi. 9.

as in its first ministration, manifest sin, and reprove and condemn for sin : but also excites and leads them that believe in it to true repentance ; and thereupon to receive that mercy, pardon, and redemption in Christ Jesus, which he has obtained for mankind in those gospel terms of faith, (in his name) true repentance and conversion to Christ thereby required.

So that the light and life of the Son of God within, truly obeyed and followed, as being the principle of the second or new covenant, as Christ the light is confessed to be (even as he is the seed or word of faith in all men,) this does not leave men or women (who believe in the light) under the first covenant, nor as sons of the bond woman, as the literal Jews were ; (when gone from the Spirit of God, and his Christ in them) but it naturally leads them into the new covenant, into the new and living way, and to the adoption of sons, to be children and sons of the freewoman, of Jerusalem from above.

It is true, that we ought not to lay aside, nor any way to undervalue (but highly to esteem) true preaching and the holy scriptures ; and the sincere belief and faith of Christ, as he died for our sins, and rose again for our justification ; together with Christ's inward and spiritual appearance, and work of grace in the soul ; *livingly to open the mystery of his death, and perfectly to effect both our reconciliation, sanc-*

tification, and justification ; and wherever Christ qualifies and calls any to preach and demonstrate the mystery of his coming, death, and resurrection, &c. even among the gentiles, Christ ought accordingly to be both preached, believed and received.

Yet supposing there have been, or are such pious and conscientious gentiles, in whom Christ was and is as the seed or principle of the second or new covenant, the light, the word of faith ; (as is granted) and that such live uprightly and faithfully to that light they have, or to what is made known of God in them, and who therefore in that state cannot perish, (but shall be saved) as is also confessed ; and supposing these have not the outward advantage of preaching, scripture, or thence the knowledge of Christ's outward coming, being outwardly crucified and risen from the dead ; can such (thus considered) be justly excluded Christianity, or the covenant of grace, (as to the virtue, life, and nature thereof) or truly deemed no Christians, or void of any Christian faith in the life and power of the Son of God within, or be only sons of the first covenant, and bond-woman, like the literal outside Jews ; or must all be excluded any true knowledge or faith of Christ within them, *unless they have the knowledge of Christ as without them ?* No sure, for that would imply *insufficiency in Christ and his light, as within*

them, and to frustrate God's good end and promise of Christ, and his free and universal love and grace to mankind in sending his Son. We charitably believe the contrary, that they must have some true faith and interest in Christ and his mediation, because of God's free love in Christ to all mankind, and Christ's dying for all men (*b*), and being given for a light of the gentiles, and for salvation to the ends of the earth (*c*). And because of their living up sincerely and faithfully to his light in them; their being pious, conscientious, accepted and saved, (as is granted) we cannot reasonably think a sincere, pious, or godly man, wholly void of Christianity (of what nation soever he be) because none can come to God or godliness but by Christ (*d*), by his light and grace in them; yet we grant if there be such pious sincere men or women, as have not the scripture or knowledge of Christ, as outwardly crucified, &c. they are not perfect Christians in all perfections, as in all knowledge and understanding all points of doctrine, outward profession of Christ: so that they are better than they profess or pretend to be; they are more Jews inward, and Christians inward, than in outward shew or profession. These are Christians sincere and perfect in kind

*b* 2 Cor. v. 14, 15.      *c* Isa. xlix. 6 Luke ii. 32. Acts  
*xiii*, 47.      *d* John xiv. 6.

or nature, in life and substance, though not in knowledge and understanding. A man or woman having the life and fruits of true Christianity, the fruits of the Spirit of Christ in them, that can talk little thereof, or of creeds, points, or articles of faith, (yea many that cannot read letters) yet may be true Christians in spirit and life; and some could die for Christ, that could not dispute for him; and even infants that die in innocency, are not excluded the grace of God, or salvation in and by Christ Jesus, the image and nature of the Son of God, being in some measure in them, and they are under God's care and special providence. See Matt. xviii. 2, 10.

And though we had the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and a belief of Christ crucified and risen, &c. we never truly knew the mystery thereof, until we were turned to the light of his grace and spirit within us; we knew not what it was to be reconciled by his death, and saved by his life, or what it was to know the fellowship of his sufferings, the power of his resurrection, or to be made conformable unto his death; we knew not until he opened our eyes, and turned our minds from darkness unto his divine light and life within us.

Notwithstanding we do sincerely and greatly *value* the holy Scriptures, preaching and teaching of faithful, divinely inspired, gifted and qualified persons and ministers of Jesus Christ,

as being great outward helps, and instrumental in his hand, and by his spirit, for conversion, where God is pleased to afford those outward helps and means, as that we neither do nor may oppose the sufficiency of the light or Spirit of Christ within, to such outward helps or means, so as to reject, disesteem, or undervalue them; for they all proceed from the same light and spirit, and tend to turn mens minds thereunto, and all center therein.

Nor can the holy Scriptures or true preaching without, be justly set in opposition to the light or Spirit of God or Christ within; for his faithful messengers are ministers thereof, being sent to turn people to the same light and spirit in them, Acts xxvi. 18. Rom. xiii. 2. 2 Cor. iv. 6. 1 Pet ii. 9. 1 John ii. 8.

It is certain, that great is the mystery of godliness in itself, in its own being and excellency: namely, that God should be and was manifest in the flesh, justified in the spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the gentiles believed on in the world, and received up into glory.

And it is a great and precious mystery of godliness and Christianity also, that Christ should be spiritually and effectually in mens hearts, to save and deliver them from sin, Satan, and bondage of corruption, Christ being thus *revealed in true believers, and dwelling in their hearts by faith, Christ within the hope of*



glory, our light and life who of God is made unto us wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption 1 Cor. i. 30. And therefore this mystery of godliness, both as in its own being and glory, and also as in men (in many hid and in some revealed) hath been and must be testified, preached, and believed; where God is pleased to give commission, and prepare peoples hearts for the same, and not in men's wills.

Concerning the resurrection of the dead, and the great day of judgment yet to come, beyond the grave, or after death, and Christ's coming without us, to judge the quick and the dead: (as divers questions are put in such terms) what the holy Scriptures plainly declare and testify in these matters, we have great reason to credit, and not to question, and have been always ready to embrace, with respect to Christ and his apostles own testimony and prophecies.

1. For the doctrine of the resurrection; if in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable, 1 Cor. xv. 19. We sincerely believe, not only a resurrection in Christ from the fallen sinful state here, but a rising and ascending into glory with him hereafter; that when he at last appears, we may appear *with him* in glory, Col. iii. 4. 1 John iii. 2.

*But that all the wicked who live in rebellion against the light of grace, and die finally impeni-*

tent, shall come forth to the resurrection of comdemnation.

And that the soul or spirit of every man and woman shall be reserved in its own distinct and proper being, (so as there shall be as many souls in the world to come as in this) and every seed (yea every soul) shall have its proper body, as God is pleased to give it, 1 Cor. xv. A natural body is sown, a spiritual body is raised; that being first which is natural, and afterwards that which is spiritual. And though it is said, this corruptible shall put on incorruption, and this mortal shall put on immortality; the change shall be such as flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, neither doth corruption inherit incorruption, 1 Cor. xv. We shall be raised out of all corruption and corruptibility, out of all mortality; and the children of God and of the resurrection, shall be equal to the angels of God in heaven. (e)

And as the celestial bodies do far excel terrestrial, so we expect our spiritual bodies in the resurrection, shall far excel what our bodies now are; and we hope none can justly blame us for thus expecting better bodies than now they are. Howbeit we esteem it very unnecessary to dispute or question how the dead are raised, or with what body they come: but

(e) *Matt xxii. 30 Mark xii, 25. Luke xii. 38.*

rather submit that to the wisdom and pleasure of Almighty God.

2. For the doctrine of eternal judgment;

God hath committed all judgment unto his Son Jesus Christ; and he is both judge of quick and dead, and of the states and ends of all mankind, John v. 22, 27. Acts x. 42. 2 Tim. iv. 1. 1 Pet. iv. 5.

That there shall be hereafter a great harvest, which is the end of the world, a great day of judgment, and the judgment of that great day, the holy Scripture is clear, Mat. xiii. 39, 40, 41. ch. x. 15, and xi. 24. Jude 6. "When the Son of Man cometh in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory, and before him shall be gathered all nations, &c." Matt xxv. 31: 32, to the end, compared with ch. xxii. 31, Mark viii. 38. Luke ix. 26. and 1 Cor. xv. 52. 2 Thes. i. 7, 8. to the end, and 1 Thes iv. 16. Rev. xx. 12. 13. 14, 15.

That this blessed heavenly, man, this Son of Man, who hath so deeply suffered and endured so many great indignities and persecutions from his adversaries, (both to himself and his *members* and brethren) should at last, even in *the last* and great day, signally and manifestly appear in glory and triumph, attended with all

his glorious heavenly host and retinue before all nations, before all his enemies, and those that have denied him; this will be to their great terror and amazement, that this most glorious heavenly man, and his brethren, that have been so much contemned and set at nought, should be thus exalted over their enemies and persecutors, in glory and triumph, is a righteous thing with God; and that they that suffer with him, should appear with him in glory and dignity when he thus appears at last. Christ was judge of the world, and the prince thereof, when on earth, John ix. 39. and xii 31. He is still judge of the world, the wickedness, and prince thereof, by his light, spirit, and gospel in men's hearts and consciences John xvi. 8, 11. Matt. xii 20. Isa xlii. 1. Rom. ii. 16, 1 Pet. iv 5. And he will be the judge and final determiner thereof in that great day appointed; God having appointed a day wherein he will judge the world in righteousness by that man whom he hath ordained. Christ foretold it shall be more tolerable for them of the land of Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment, than for that city or people that would not receive his messengers or ministers, &c. Matt x. 15. and see chap. xi. 24. and Mark vi. 11. Luke x. 12, 14. *It is certain that God knows how to deliver the godly out of all their trials and afflictions*

and at last to bring them forth, and raise them up into glory with Christ ; so he knoweth also how to reserve the unjust and finally impenitent unto the day of judgment to be punished, 2 Pet. ii. 9. He will bring them forth unto the day of destruction, Job xxi. 30. The Lord can and will reserve such impenitent, presumptuous and rebellious criminals, as bound under chains of darkness, as were the fallen angels, unto the judgment of the great day, Jude 6. Matt xxv. 30. It is not for us to determine or dispute the manner how they shall be so reserved ; but leave it to God, he knows how.

A Postscript relating to the doctrine of the  
Resurrection and eternal Judgment.

“ At the last trump of God, and the voice of the archangel, the dead shall be raised incorruptible, the dead, in Christ shall rise first, 1 Cor. xv 52. 1 Thes. iv. 16. compared with Matt. xxiv. 31.

“ Many are often alarmed in conscience here by the word and voice of God : who stop their ears, and slight those warnings ; but the great and final alarm of the last trumpet, they cannot stop their ears against, nor escape, it *will* unavoidably seize upon, and farther awaken *them* finally to judgment. They that will not *be* alarmed in their consciences unto repentance,

nor out of their sins here, must certainly be alarmed to judgment hereafter.

“ Whosoever do now wilfully shut their eyes, hate, contemn, or shun the light of Christ, or his appearance within, shall at last be made to see, and not be able to shun or hide themselves from his glorious and dreadful appearance from heaven with his mighty angels, as with lightning and flaming fire, to render vengeance on all them that know not God, and obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ 1 Thes. iv. 16. Matt. xxiv. 27. Luke xvii. 24. Dan. x. 6. Job xxxvii. 3.

“ And though many now evade and reject the inward convictions and judgment of the light, and shut up the records or books thereof in their own consciences, they shall all be at last opened, and every one judged of these things recorded therein, according to their works, Rev. xx. 12, 13, 14, 15.

Signed in behalf of our Christian profession  
and people aforesaid,

George Whitehead,  
Ambrose Rigg,  
William Fallowfield,  
James Parke,

Charles Marshall,  
John Bowater,  
John Vaughton,  
William Bingley.

This paper generally gave satisfaction, and was well received in Holland, where, having translated it into Dutch. I got it published in print. Now since Francis Bugg, an envious apostate, charged the Quakers with some Socinian notions; and being set on by some churchmen, endeavoured also to render them odious with the government, the following confession of faith, signed by one and thirty persons, of which G. Whitehead was one, was in December presented to the parliament:

Be it known to all, that we sincerely believe and confess.

I. That Jesus of Nazareth, who was born of the Virgin Mary, is the true Messiah, the very Christ, the Son of the living God, to whom all the prophets gave witness: and that we do highly value his death, sufferings, works, offices, and merits for the redemption of mankind, together with his laws, doctrine, and ministry.

II. That this very Christ of God, who is the Lamb of God, that takes away the sins of the world, was slain, was dead, and is alive, and lives for ever in his divine eternal glory, dominion, and power, with the Father.

III. That the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, are of divine authority, as being given by inspiration of God.

IV. And that magistracy or civil government, is God's ordinance, the good ends thereof being for the punishment of evil doers, and praise of them that do well.

By this and the like writings, the eyes of many that were at the helm began to be more opened; and even among the bishops were some that inclined to moderation; for the king endeavoured as much as he could to promote the most moderate among the churchmen to those high dignities; and prejudice, which had blinded many in respect to the Quakers, began to abate more and more. But yet there was one thing which continually caused them much hardship, viz. their refusing to swear; for by reason of this they were not only deprived of their rights as freemen, but also of giving evidence in courts of judicature. They did not therefore omit from time to time, to petition the parliament; wherein they desired to be relieved of this heavy burden; though hitherto they had not been able to obtain this favour: wherefore on the 26th of November, they delivered a petition to the parliament, setting forth their great sufferings, for want of their solemn declaration being taken instead of an oath; and that not in their own cases only, but in evidence wherein *others were concerned*. This petition they *concluded thus*:



We therefore earnestly and humbly request, that you will favourably please to give leave to bring in a bill to admit, that our solemn answer, affirmation, or denial, may be accepted instead of an oath, to relieve us in the cases aforesaid, or in such of them as you in your wisdom shall see meet: we freely submitting, that if any reputed a Quaker shall falsify the truth, and be duly convicted thereof, that every such person, shall undergo the like pains and penalties, as are provided against perjured persons. And your petitioners shall, as in duty bound, pray, &c.

William Mead,  
George Whitehead,  
William Crouch,  
Walter Bental,  
Thomas Hart,  
Michael Russel,

William Bingley,  
Samuel Waldenfield,  
John Staploe,  
William Macker,  
Joseph Wright, junr.  
Theodore Ecclestone.

This petition being read in the House of Commons, they came to the following resolution :

“A petition of the people called Quakers was read. Resolved, That the consideration thereof be referred to a committee; and that they report their opinions therein to the house

A committee being ordered accordingly, sat thereupon, and gave their judgment as followeth :

“Upon the whole it is the opinion of this committee, that the Quakers ought to be relieved according to the prayer of their petition.”

But nothing was obtained that session ; for their enemies were yet so powerful in parliament, that they found means to retard this beneficial work, and to stay the progress of it : for so long as the Quakers were not relieved in the case of oaths, they who now were not liable to prosecution on account of their public worship, might yet for all that be otherwise molested and vexed. Wherefore on the 22nd of December, in the year 1694, a representation of their case of not swearing, being signed in their behalf by Theodore Ecclestone, was delivered to the members of parliament, and was as followeth.

A brief representation of the Quakers' case of not swearing ; and why they might have been, and yet may be relieved therein by parliament.

*“It is a certain truth, that among Christians, and Protestants especially, there are divers par-*

particular things about religion, conscientiously scrupled by some as unlawful; that others esteem orthodox : and therefore it is not to be wondered, that the Quakers differ from many others (though not from all) in this case of oaths ; they believing they are absolutely forbid to swear in any case, by that positive command of Christ, Matt. v. 44. and the earnest exhortation of his apostle, James v. 12. And that this is undeniably their Christian persuasion, is evidenced by their sufferings these many years for not swearing.

“ And therefore their case may be worth the charitable notice of the government, by law to relieve them therein ; and not, for their religious persuasion, to continue them and their families exposed to ruin ; who among their neighbours cheerfully pay to the support of the government ; and by their trades and industry, according to their capacities, advance the national stock.

“ It may therefore be humbly offered, that it is not the interest of the government to refuse them relief.

“ Their industry in trade both at sea and land bringing profit to the government as well as others ; the station they stand in as merchants, *farmers*, manufacturers, improvers of lands, and *stocks*, is advantageous to their neighbours as truly as others. And as it seems not the inter-

est of the government in general that they should be any ways discouraged in their honest industry, so neither is it the interest of an eminent part of the government, that they should not be relieved, viz. the judges.

“For the frequent suits that are brought against the Quakers, before the chancery and exchequer judges, are no doubt very troublesome and burthensome, by the difficulty of getting at a just issue, for want of swearing; whereby justice is delayed, and their causes often held very long; and no doubt when just judges see the Quakers wronged and abused, and cannot relieve them, it is irksome to them: so that it is humbly conceived, it would be a great ease to those courts, to have the Quakers relieved in this case of oaths.

“Neither is it without advantage to the king's other courts, to be able to use the evidence of ~~one~~ who is now a Quaker, that perhaps was not so some years ago; when he was a witness to a bill, bond, book debt, or deed of indenture; or when he was steward or trustee, or servant, either to persons of quality, or to others of trade or estate.

“Nor may their testimony be unuseful to coroners, in case of unnatural deaths; nor inconvenient in cases of trespass or felony, &c.

“And it is farther proposed, that it is not the interest of the subject to continue them unre-

lieved; for it is not the interest of those the Quakers are indebted to; because though such may sue and harass the Quakers in person and estate, yet they may long want a decision of their debt or claim, as to the right of it, for want of an answer upon oath.

“It is not the interest of those they are concerned with in any doubtful case, because of the difficulty to come to trial.

“And for those that owe money to the Quakers, to be allowed to fly into chancery for a refuge, to obstruct paying just debts, is such an injury as it is hoped no one that is rational will countenance, or desire should be continued upon them. And may it not then be asserted, that it is no honest man's true and just interest to have the Quakers denied relief; no, not the gown men of Westminster-hall, whose few fees from the Quakers as plaintiffs, might suggest (though unduly) that they have no long tailed debts to sue for, nor titles to recover; but if they so suppose, it is a mistake, for it is rather their despair of relief, and their well known inability to pursue a cause, that is their common determent to begin.

“So that of all causes that crowd those courts; few are brought by the Quakers, though *they* may need it as much as others, to the great loss of the learned in the law, as well as the poor injured Quaker.

“ And one might think it were great pity an industrious people should be kept liable to all injurious suits, and so much barred from suing for their rights, be their cause never so reasonable, just, or necessary.

“ Seeing their relief is to them so needful, so harmless to all, and so useful to the government and their neighbours ; let us a little consider the common objections ; which may be summed up in short thus :

First objection, “ How shall we then be at a certainty ? ”

Secondly, “ Why should the laws be altered for them ? For,

Thirdly, “ It would be to raze old foundations :

Fourthly, “ And let them into the government.”

“ Which it is hoped will not be difficult to answer one by one, and that to reasonable satisfaction.

“ And to the first, viz. the doubt of certainty. It may be rationally affirmed, that whosoever is bound to tell the truth, (especially against *men's own interest*, where the temptation, if *any, mainly lies*) such are either so bound by *the law of God, or the law of men, or both.*

"Now the obligations by the law of God are binding on good men, whether they answer on oath, or on their solemn affirmations in the fear of God; and knaves are only bound by the penal laws of men; which if not equally severe to those that gave fallacious answers, as well without oath as by oath, will be equally effectual and binding, both to those that gave answers without swearing, and to them that swear.

"The second objection, That it would be an alteration of the law. Not of the substance of the law, but of a circumstance; and if it hath no detriment in it, but that the alteration be really an amendment, and a convenience to an honest industrious people, pray why should it not be done? What sessions of parliament is there that passes, but some law or other is made for the ease, security, or relief of the subject?

"If foreigners are too hard for our trading people, out goes an act of navigation to prevent it.

"If our poor at home want silk to work with, how soon it is granted, notwithstanding the same act, to come over land, and not directly in shipping, from the places of its production, the said act before did enjoin: and shall the case of trade be so soon granted against

tive statute ; and the ease of conscience be so long denied in this, as positive a command of Christ, at least really so believed and accepted?

“ And for the third objection, That it is to raze old foundations. Answer, No, as it was said it is rather to mend them ; a proper work for parliaments.

“ Did not parliaments abrogate popery, with all its claim to antiquity? Did not a parliament make the act of *Habeas Corpus* against the claim of prerogative? And was it more reasonable to secure the subject from perpetual imprisonment by a king without a trial; than it is to secure one subject from imprisoning another till death, for not giving an answer in chancery or exchequer upon oath? Does it belong to parliaments to secure other subjects, in their estates, liberties, and properties, and is it unparliamentary to secure the Quakers from sequestrations against their whole estates, because they dare not comply with a circumstance of the law, when (as they understood it) it is against an express command of Christ? Surely no : and therefore their relief in parliament is a fitting case to be there tenderly taken notice of, and provided for.

“ *May it not then be well worth the while for*



the present parliament to relieve these distressed people, and afford their suffering case redress; that thereby their causes may the sooner come to an issue, whether they sue for just debts, or are sued; whereby many unjust and vexatious suits, by injurious and litigious persons, may be prevented; which have often tended rather to the Quakers' ruin and others damage, than recovery of their right?

“As to the fourth objection, That it will tend to let them into the government. For answer thereto, bar that as hard as you please; only do not let the supposal of that, from which so easily and so willingly they may be excluded, be a hindrance to that ease and benefit the government may so easily afford them.

“But now, while you have opportunity by the station Providence hath placed you in, pray be you of such noble, generous spirits, as to relieve them; though they differ from you in the construction of a text they esteem plain and positive on their side, and from which they dare not swerve; having therein the concurrence of many ancient fathers and martyrs, and since them the Mennists, and of the late Francis Osbourne, Esq. in his Political Reflections, 7th edition, p. 319, who, treating of judical cases, calls *Not swearing*, a yielding a sincere and faithful obedience to the precept of our Saviour, “Swear

not at all :” which, says he the corrupt glosses of expositors labour much, though all in vain, to elude.

“ And Swinderby, in his appeal to the king, complaining of the errors of the Papists, says thus : “ As Christ forbids swearing, so (says he) the pope justifieth swearing and compels men to swear.”

“ Which no man can rationally say is only spoken of swearing in communication, for his complaint is against justifying swearing, and compelling men to swear, which cannot be pretended to mean other than solemn swearing ; for no age that we read of did ever authorize profane swearing, much less to compel to it.

“ Since therefore not only profane swearing, but also solemn swearing was early complained of by Protestants ; let it not seem strange to any, that the Quakers now scruple swearing, and for ease therein have often sought relief in parliament, the proper place.

“ Seeing then they believe they have the authority of Christ’s command, and the apostle’s exhortation, and the martyrs doctrine on their side, though divers of you are not so persuaded :

“ Yet let the world behold your justice and willingness, according to your power, to do good to *all the honest and industrious people you both represent and govern ; by enacting that their solemn affirmation shall be accepted*

in lieu of an oath, and all that falsify therein, shall be punished equally with perjured persons.

“It having been made appear to a committee of this parliament, (Dec. 2, 1692) that they are exposed to great hardships as aforesaid; and not themselves only, but others also; (which was the case of a member or two of this present parliament.)

“So that upon the whole matter, the said committee were of opinion, and did report it to the house, that the Quakers ought to be relieved according to the prayer of their petition, then newly presented to the house.

“Wherefore as liberty hath been given them to declare their allegiance to the government without swearing, for which ease they are sincerely thankful; so be pleased to add to that kindness, their relief in the matter of oaths, between them and other subjects, as well as between the government and them.

Signed on behalf of the said people,

Theodore Ecclestone.”

London, Dec. 22, 1694.

*Though after the delivering of the said representation, the parliament this year came not to a full resolution for their relief, yet several*

members shewed themselves more inclined to it, and in the next year the matter was taken in hand again in good earnest.

Toward the conclusion of this year, Mary the 2d, queen of England, deceased. She was a princess eminent beyond many, being well versed in reading, and of great knowledge, of which I will mention only this passage, viz. that the ambassador of the king her father at the Hague, having tried by many arguments to bring her over to the papal religion, said afterwards in the presence of some great men, that he never before believed that a woman was to be found any where so well experienced in the doctrine of Christian religion; that therefore he would not advise any to enter into discourse with her about that matter. On the 21st of December some symptoms of the small-pox appeared on the queen, who had been ill a day or two before; and her distemper suddenly increased to that degree, that the physicians began to despair of her recovery: but this was so far from frightening her, that she said, "God be thanked, I am prepared." And this quietness of mind did not leave her, even when she felt death approaching; for then she was heard to say, "I believe now that I shall die shortly; and I thank God, that from my youth I have *learned this true doctrine, that repentance ought not to be deferred to a dying bed.*" In

such a Christian disposition she continued to her dying hour, and so quietly gave up the ghost to her Creator, from whom she had received it; departing at Kensington not long after midnight, between the 26th and 27th of December and left the king in unspeakable sorrow, who, in all the time of her sickness, it is said, had not departed from her chamber. Many pens laboured to celebrate her praises, and bewail her death; and perhaps no queen in many ages hath been more beloved than she was. But I break off: others have given an account of her excellent qualities and character to the world, and it may be none better than Gilbert Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, in a treatise entitled, "An Essay on the Memory of the late Queen."

Now I return again to the case and affairs of the Quakers.

And since those of Barbadoes in America were still about this time much molested, for not bearing arms, they sent over a list in the year 1695, of what had been taken from them under the government of the colonels Searle and Muddiford, the president Wallum, the lords Francis Willoughby and W m. Willoughby, the knights Jonathan Atkins and Richard Dutton, and the colonels Edwin Stede and James Kendal, all which amounted to 1,423,164lb. Muscovado sugar, and 2,910l. 16s. in money. To

this list was joined an account of disasters which befel several of the persecutors in Barbadoes. In this account I find above thirty marshals or the deputies named, who, though they had enriched themselves with the spoil and havock of the goods of honest people, yet they all died poor, and several either by an unnatural death, or with great pains; but I decline mentioning all the particulars. Among these was John Thurborn, marshal to colonel Tidcomb, who used scoffingly to call the Quakers his milch cows, saying that George Gray (one of these people) was one of his best cows, and gave a brave mess of milk every exercising day. For he and other such birds of prey took always much more than the fine amounted to: but at length he died in poverty, being afflicted with a fistula in his fundament, that did admit of no cure.

It was not only for not bearing arms that the Quakers suffered thus; but frequent occasions were sought to vex them. For when they (to bring their negroes, if possible, to some knowledge of the true God) caused them to meet together for an hour or two once a week, to instruct them according to their capacity, by reading to them some part of the holy Scriptures, and speaking something to this purpose; *a law was made, forbidding the Quakers to let their negroes come into their meetings, though*

kept in their own houses, on pain of forfeiting every such negro as was found there, or ten pounds instead thereof. And by one Thomas Cobham, an action was brought against Ralph Fretwell, for eighty negroes of his own at a meeting in his own family. But though the justice, John Merrick, did what he could to countenance the said Cobham, yet after several sessions of the court, at which the said justice was an assistant, judgment was given in favour of the defendant; and it was remarkable that the aforesaid Cobham, though a lusty likely young man, became dejected, and generally alighted; and soon after was taken with a fever and an inflammation in his neck and throat, which so increased that towards his latter end he cried out, "Fire, fire; I am all on fire;" and to his mother he said, she needed not provide a coffin for him; for he should be burnt up before it was made; crying out, "Neither heaven nor hell, but all fire, fire;" to which he added, "Now the Quakers will say it is a judgment fallen on me." After this manner miserably ended his days. And justice Merrick's exit was also dismal: for riding to house, after having drank too much, he thrown from his horse, whereby his brain was hurt, that he lay some days in a violent condition, to the terror of his friends. In like manner William

judge of the court, who had been a great opposer of the Quakers instructing their negroes, riding from his house to Bridgetown, fell from his horse, and was so hurt, that he was not heard to speak any thing else afterwards, but "O my head;" and three or four days after his fall he died.

Sir Timothy Thornhill, major general had, often threatened to take away the Quakers lives, and was such an abominable blasphemer, that I feel myself seized with horror in reading the most detestable and direful blasphemies which this monstrous wretch belched out: for being at a feast, and drinking so excessively, that some of the company refused to drink so hard, he wished, (shall I say it, or be silent) *Seipsum esse Deum Omnipotentem, quò posset damnare animas eorum qui cum ipso bibere nollent.* At another time, being in company where a woman by way of discourse spoke of the power and omnipotency of Almighty God, he returned this accursed language, worse than that of the devil himself, Matt. iv. "God damn you, go to the top of yonder tree, and see if God Almighty can save you from breaking your neck before you come to the bottom." Other devilish language he spoke, I pass by with silence. When once a person was brought before him for not appearing in arms, and told him, he could not do so for conscience sake, he



returned, "God damn your conscience; if I cannot make your conscience bow, I will make your stubborn dog's back bend," and so tied him neck and heels with his own hands, so violently, that he almost deprived the man of life. He also once when a declaration of war was published in the island, said, that the first time an enemy appeared, he would hang up the Quakers, binding his words with abominable oaths, to which he was so accustomed, that he seldom spoke without them. But now at length the time came, that he must remove from this to the other world. He had been sick, and being pretty well recovered, he boasted among his companions of his conquest over death, and daringly said, that he had taken a new lease of his life from God Almighty for thirty years longer. But within a few months after the thread of life was cut, and his pretended lease was taken from him by the Sovereign of the universe. Thus he died unlamented by moderate people, and cursed by others who lost considerably by him, notwithstanding a great estate left him by his father.

But more happy was his marshal, John Batt, who had taken much goods from the Quakers; yet on his dying bed, some years before, viz. 1679, was so sensibly touched with repentance, that he caused the following paper to be wrote, and signed it.

"Whereas I John Batt the younger, of the island of Barbadoes, was lately, by commission from colonel Thornhill, marshal to his regiment of foot soldiers; and by that power did restrain upon the estates of several of the people called Quakers, and took and carried away many parcels of their sugar and other goods, for their defaults in not appearing in arms in the said regiment: which they refused out of tenderness of conscience, to which I had not regard; but now the Lord having laid his hand sorely on me, by afflicting me with a hard and grievous sickness, those things done to the aforesaid people come fresh in my mind to my very great grief and terror; and I do declare that all the sins that I have been guilty of besides, (which are very many) do not trouble or lie so heavy upon my conscience, as those my doings to that people; and I do believe that no man will ever be blessed or prosper that practises such things against that people. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand this tenth day of May, 1679.

"John Batt, jun."

Witness William Howard,  
Antrobus.

*Well had others done, if they had taken example by it; but it was not in vain that our*

Saviour in the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, made Abraham say to the rich man, "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead." But other persecutors took no caution by this penitent John Batt; for yet long after some others in Barbadoes most furiously shewed their malice and rage against the Quakers, and among these one Alexander Ruddock, a Scotchman, who was not only a colonel of a regiment of foot, but also judge of a court, and one of the council. He caused one of the society of the Quakers to be rated four hundred pounds of sugar, for payment of the priest's wages, who was his son in law; whereas upon complaint of the said person, and upon inquiry, it appeared that the pretended due was but ten pounds of sugar; and it was well known that he and his friends duly paid for maintaining the poor, and for mending highways: but all this could not avail him; for a cow was taken from him worth ten pounds sterling. And though some of the magistrates, seeing the unreasonableness of these proceedings would have had the cow returned to the right owner, yet such was the power of the said Ruddock, that they were not able to withstand it. And *because the aforesaid man had complained of the wrong and oppression he suffered, this so incensed Ruddock, that he caused him to be*

fined five pounds sterling, for having refused to take the oath as constable, though he was willing to have served the office. For this fine Ruddock issued out a warrant against him, upon which was taken from him a negro woman, that by the management of Ruddock was valued at but two thousand three hundred pounds of sugar, which as the price of sugar then went, might amount to eleven pounds ten shillings: and yet the negro was sold for six and twenty pounds sterling, and all kept for the fine of five pounds. From this same man was taken the value of above seven thousand pounds of sugar in one year by the direction of Ruddock; which the sufferer laying before him in the presence of his daughter, the priest's wife; and telling him, he had suffered all that for complaining of the wrong he had done him about his cow; he, as rejoicing at it, said, it should be so yearly, so long as he was magistrate. But he did not live a year after.

He was of a fierce temper, and very ready to put negroes to death for example, saying, "What is it for Barbadoes to put twenty or thirty negroes to death yearl; for example's sake?" And as he vexed the Quakers many ways, so he shewed his grudge also by taking the meat they bought and paid for; nay so malicious he was, *that once a butcher carrying meat to the house of him that bought it; he commanded him to*

carry it back, saying the Quakers shall not eat fresh meat. But at length the measure of his iniquity was full: he came from the council; where an order was issued from the governor to break up the Quakers meetings, and he promised the governor diligently to obey all his commands. But in his very way home he was taken ill, and being come to his house, he called for some cream of tarter, which he used to take in his broth but by his own mistake he took arsenick instead thereof, and so wretchedly ended his days. And how wicked soever he was, yet the priest Kennedy, his countryman, did not hesitate when he was to preach his funeral sermon, to take his text from these words of the apostle, "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness." And in this sermon it was declared of him, that he had attained to the prudence of a judge, the dignity of a colonel, and the honour of a counsellor; and that he served his king and country faithfully, and died a saint. This last expression seemed to regard some repentance he had shewed; but whatever it was, we must commit that to God; and in the meanwhile not rely too much on such a repentance: since Judas also repented of his wickedness. If I did not study brevity, I could relate

more remarkable cases concerning the persecutors in Barbadoes; but I break off.

Now I return to England, where the parliament sitting the latter end of this year, had effectually taken in hand the making an act to ease the people called Quakers from that heavy burden of swearing; this work met with great opposition: for though many good natured members were inclined to it in good earnest, yet their enemies were so active in altering and clipping the bill, that it looked almost as if the whole project would have come to nought. But the king himself forwarded the work, and to his praise be it said, he was the principal promoter of it: insomuch that in the beginning of the year 1696, it was enacted by the king and parliament that the solemn affirmation and declaration of the people called Quakers shall be accepted instead of an oath in the usual form, as appears by the act, which was as followeth:

**An Act that the solemn Affirmation and Declaration of the people called Quakers, shall be accepted instead of an Oath in the usual form.**

Whereas divers dissenters, commonly called Quakers, refusing to take an oath in courts of justice, and other places, are frequently imprisoned and their estates sequestered by process of contempt issuing out of such courts, to the

ruin of themselves and families: For remedy thereof, be it enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that from and after the fourth day of May, which shall be in the year of our Lord, one thousand six hundred ninety-six, every Quaker within the kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick upon Tweed, who shall be required upon any lawful occasion to take an oath in any case, where by law an oath is required, shall instead of the usual form be permitted to make his or her solemn affirmation or declaration, in these words following, viz.

"I *A. B.* do declare in the presence of Almighty God, the witness of the truth of what I say."

II. Which said solemn affirmation or declaration, shall be adjudged and taken, and is hereby enacted and declared, to be of the same force and effect, to all intents and purposes, in all courts of justices, and other places, whereby law an oath is required, within this kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick upon Tweed, as if such Quaker had taken an oath in the usual form.

III. And be it further enacted by the

authority aforesaid, that if any Quaker, making such solemn affirmation or declaration, shall be lawfully convicted, wilfully, falsely, and corruptly to have affirmed or declared any matter or thing, which, if the same had been in the usual form, would have amounted to wilful and corrupt perjury, every such Quaker so offending shall incur the same penalties and forfeitures, as by the laws and statutes of this realm are enacted against persons convicted of wilful and corrupt perjury.

IV. And whereas by reason of a pretended scruple of conscience Quakers do refuse to pay tithes and church rates, be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that where any Quaker shall refuse to pay, or compound for his great or small tithes, or to pay any church rates, it shall and may be lawful, to and for the two next justices of peace of the same county (other than such justice of the peace as is patron of the church or chapel, when the said tithes do or shall arise, or anyways interested in the said tithes) upon the complaint of any parson, vicar, farmer, or proprietor of tithes, churchwarden, or churchwardens, who ought to have, receive, or collect the same, by warrant under their hands and seals, to convene before them such Quaker or Quakers neglecting or refusing to pay or compound for the same, and to examine upon oath, which oath the said justices are



hereby empowered to administer, or in such manner as by this act is provided, the truth and justice of the said complaint, and to ascertain and state what is due and payable by such Quaker or Quakers to the party or parties complaining, and by order under their hands and seals to direct and appoint the payment thereof, so as the sum ordered, as aforesaid, do not exceed ten pounds ; and upon refusal by such Quaker or Quakers to pay according to such order, it shall and may be lawful to and for any one of the said justices, by warrant under his hand and seal, to levy the money, thereby ordered to be paid, by distress and sale of goods of such offender, his executors or administrators, rendering only the overplus to him, her, or them, necessary charges of distraining being thereout first deducted and allowed by the said justice ; and any person finding him, her, or themselves aggrieved by any judgment given by such two justices of the peace, shall and may appeal to the next general quarter sessions to be held for the county, riding, city, liberty, or town corporate : and the justices of the peace there present, or the major part of them, shall proceed finally to hear and determine the matter, and to reverse the *said judgment*, if they shall see cause : and if *the justices then present, or the major part of them, shall find cause to continue the judgment*

Given by the first two justices of the peace, they shall then decree the same by order of sessions, and shall also proceed to give such costs against the appellant, to be levied by distress and sales of the goods and chattels of the said appellant as to them shall seem just and reasonable : and no proceedings or judgment had or to be had by virtue of this act shall be removed or superseded by any writ of certiorari or other writ out of his majesty's courts at Westminster, or any other court whatsoever, unless the title of such tithes, shall be in question.

V. Provided always, that in case any such appeal be made as aforesaid, no warrant of distress shall be granted until after such appeal be determined.

VI. Provided, and be it enacted, that no Quaker or reputed Quaker shall by virtue of this act be qualified or permitted to give evidence in any criminal causes, or serve on any juries, or bear any office or place of profit in the government ; any thing in this act contained to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

VII. Provided, that this act shall continue in force for the space of seven years, and from thence to the end of the next session of parliament, and no longer.

*Thus the Quakers, became discharged, and*

free from that grievous burthen by which they had been oppressed so many years. This parliament made also an act for enforcing the laws which restrain marriages without licenses or banns ; and for the better registering marriages, births, and burials: and for keeping a distinct register of all persons born ; for which no more was to be paid than sixpence.

Mention hath been made already that George Keith had at London got a place called Turner's hall to preach in ; and as his auditors consisted chiefly of persons envious against the Quakers, so there were among these also many of the vulgar sort, who generally are fickle and unsteady, and often inclined to novelties, though Keith would as yet in some respect be looked upon as an adherent of the Quakers ; he had also published some papers, wherein he endeavoured to make it appear that they held several heterodox sentiments.

The books which he had published concerning this matter, were so fully answered by the Quakers, that he being at a loss to make a reply to their answers, pretended that he was not in a condition to set the press at work, and bear the charges of the impression. But *that this was a frivolous evasion was well known.* Yet he, to do something, fell upon another project, and published an advertisement, that

on the 11th of the month called June, he would defend his charge against the Quakers, and therefore he summoned some of them to appear there at the time, to answer for themselves. Beginning now to comply with the Episcopalians, he had, as he said afterwards, given notice of his intention to the lord mayor of London, who not having forbidden it, he grew the more bold. But the Quakers did not think it meet to appear there to enter into a dispute with him, the rather because the king at that time was beyond sea, and many of the vulgar were idle for want of work and trade, occasioned by the scarcity of money, (which then was very great, by reason of the recoinage it,) insomuch that it could not be foreseen whether some disaffected persons might not have got together, and caused a dangerous disturbance. And therefore they declined to appear there, and gave the following reasons of their refusal, which were read in the appointed meeting, and afterwards published in print :

“Whereas G. Keith hath, after his irregular, and unruly manner, challenged divers of us to defend ourselves against such charges as he has to exhibit against us at Turner’s hall : these are to certify all whom it may concern, that the reasons why we decline any such meeting are as follow.

*First.* “Because the said George Keith has given us such frequent proofs of his very passionate and abusive behaviour, at the many more select meetings we have had with him, in all manner of sweetness, long-suffering and patience, on our side, to satisfy and preserve him from those extremes: that we cannot assure ourselves now of any better treatment, or that the meeting can have any desirable success, for a thorough information.

*Secondly.* “We decline to meet, because it is not an agreed meeting on both sides, which it ought to have been, and where that is not, or cannot be adjusted, the press is the next fair way and expedient, which he has begun with, and now seems to decline; nor hath he sent us a copy of his charge or indictment against us, which also he ought to have done.

*Thirdly.* “That he has two of our books which lie hard at his door, in vindication of us and our doctrines from his exceptions, and which he has not yet answered; so that he is not upon equal terms with us; and therefore we think his challenge, appointment; and summons unfair; and that all that are not partial, will be of the same mind with us.

*Fourthly.* “Such public and unlimited meetings, are too often attended with levity, and

confusion, and answer not the end desired by sober and inquiring men. Besides, that it sets up a practice that authority may judge to be an abuse to our liberty, and so draw that under reflection, as no friend to the civil peace.

*Fifthly* “ We know not what religion or persuasion this wavering man is of, or what church or people he adheres to, or will receive him, with his vain speculations that have led him to desert us ; nor who are accountable to us for him and his irregularities and abuses ; the generality of such assemblies usually making ill auditors, worse judges, and no good security for our satisfaction. And we must therefore take leave to say, it seems to us an indirect way of disquieting and invading our present liberty, that so irreligious a meeting should be held, whose end is to abuse other men for religion. If this should be imitated by all the several sorts of different persuasions in this city, what heats and confusions must necessarily ensue.

*Sixthly, and lastly.* “ Wherefore be it known unto all, that for the sake of religion, liberty, and the civil peace, granted us, we decline to meet him ; and not from any apprehension we have of his abilities, or our own consciousness of error, or injustice to the said G. Keijth ; whose weak and

unbridled temper we know is such, that what learning and parts he hath, have not been able to balance and support him on less occasions; so that we may say they are in ill hands; and if he proceeds as he begins, they will be employed to an ill end, which his (poor man!) cannot but be, unless he change his course; which we heartily pray for, that a place of repentance he may find; and through a true contrition, the remission of his great sin of envy, and evilly intreating the Lord's people, and way which we profess, and which he, the said G. Keith, hath long and lately both professed, and zealously vindicated as such."

These reasons the Quakers, as hath been said, published in print, to shew the world, that it was not without a weighty cause, that they did not accept G. Keith's summons. Now though G. Whitehead and W. Penn, for the abovesaid reasons did not appear in Turner's hall, yet some of their friends were there as spectators, to see what would be the issue of this business. G. Keith seeing himself thus disappointed in his intention, took upon him for all that, to defend his charge in the absence of his adversaries, which now he could do easily, since none contradicted him, and he was applauded by the frequent shoutings of the mob that was there in great numbers. After the reasons of non-appearance

was read, Keith signified that they were not satisfactory, by calling them slender, weak, and frivolous. "What," said he, "may a malefactor make this excuse; You shall not call me before a justice without my consent? If a man robs me, I may complain of him as a robber, and without his consent call him to an account. But here is a strange thing: if injuring men may not be called to account without their consent, it will trespass against the law, and intrenches upon liberty of conscience." This reason he published in print, in his narrative of that day's work: but who would formerly ever have thought, that such a little man as he was, would have been so big. It looked just as if the Quakers were obliged to appear as malefactors before the pretended judge Keith, accompanied with his assistants the mob, and I do not know who. And to keep to G. Keith's comparison; though a malefactor may not say, you shall not call me before a justice without my consent, yet with some good reason he might say, you shall not make yourself a justice, as Keith now did. It is probable that he was supported by some great churchmen, otherwise such a bold action might easily have turned to his disadvantage.

My limits do not admit of a circumstantial relation of what was transacted at that time in *Turner's hall*: yet to shew briefly how he treated matters, I will produce one or two instances



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"with God?" Doth this imply two gods, that God had a father? Let the reader judge. Certainly it appears from this plainly that G. Whitehead, did not intend any thing but to censure the unscriptural expressions antagonist, as Co-Creator, and implying rival; for not only the apostle saith, God only, but Christ himself saith, I and the Father are One. Yet G. Keith did not hesitate to say, Whitehead denieth the divinity of Christ, and deceives the nation and the parliament telling them that the Quakers own Christ as both God and Man, and believe all that is said of him in the holy Scripture. This he sought to prove from a passage taken out of the mentioned book which in sense agreed with the former; and speaking in another page of some matter, viz. The Baptists calling the Word, Co-Creator with the Father, G. Whitehead answers thus to it, "To tell of the Father, God, Co-Creator with the Father, is all one as to tell of God being Co-Creator with the Father; and this is to make two gods, and two creators; for God Co-Creator with the Father, plainly implies two." Was it showing of others their absurd expressions, that that Christ was God, as Keith would say? Might it not be here asked, whether the wit of Keith was now altogether flown? But a great part of the auditory consist-

ed of an ignorant crew, and one or other of them was continually heard to cry out, It is sufficient.

Now to prove that G. Whitehead had deified Christ to be man, Keith cited from the forementioned book, called "The divinity of Christ," &c., these words, "If the body and soul of the Son of God were both created, doth not this render him a fourth person?" Here Keith stopped, and broke off with an &c. without adding the following words; "For creation was in time, which contradicts the doctrine of three distinct, uncreated, co-eternal, co-essential Persons in the Deity, seeing that which was created was not so." This G. Whitehead asked and said, to shew his opponent, T. Danson, the absurdity of his assertions about the personalities of the Deity. But Keith went on, reading from G. Whitehead's book thus: "Where doth the Scripture say that his soul was created? For was not he the brightness of the Father's glory, and the express image of his divine substance? But supposing the soul of Christ was with the body created in time," &c. Here Keith broke off again, omitting the following words: "I ask, if from eternity he was a person distinct from God and his holy Spirit, without either soul or body; Where doth the Scripture speak of any person without either soul or body? Let us have plain Scripture." Now though G. Whitehead had written this

to shew, how we often enter into inextricable straights, when we do not keep to the words of the holy Scripture, which no where speaks of three Persons in the Deity; yet Keith perverting the passage abusively, said to his auditory, "Here ye see he will not own that Christ had a created soul." At this rate, and after this manner, Keith reasoned, and treated the other passages. But how smartly would he have carped at others, if they had cited his words thus piece meal.

But now he had a temporal reward in his view, and seeing for that end he began more and more to declare himself in favour of the episcopal church; somebody of that persuasion, who did no farther make himself known than by these initial letters, W. C. made it his business to shew the changeableness of Keith's opinion and sentiments, from his own writings, which he had published in print; and thereby evidently proved, that in every respect Keith was turned an apostate, though he appeared much offended at the Quakers, because they had called him so. "But" said this author, "if the Presbyterian principles (of which society Keith once was a member) were better than the Quakers, then is Mr. Keith an apostate, in revolting from, and deserting the Presbyterians, and turning his coat Quaker fashion. But if

the Quakers were more in the right than the Presbyterians, then *à contrd.*"

Now he appeared to fawn upon the episcopal clergy, and esteemed lawful what formerly he had zealously oppugned. For he was in hopes that by opposing the Quakers, he should be best rewarded among the Episcopalians; and this was not altogether without reason; for it being no more in their power now to prosecute the Quakers in manner as formerly, they made use of other means as much as possibly they could, to render them and their doctrine odious; for which Keith seemed to them no unfit tool; for he being both of a witty and impetuous temper, was also crafty, subtle, cunning, and violent in his expressions. And to charge the Quakers with inorthodoxy, he himself launched out into an heterodox sentiment. For it was believed, that for maintaining this position, that the historical knowledge of Christ's sufferings, death, resurrection, &c. was absolutely necessary for salvation, he had no other ground than the twelve pretended transmigrations or transitions of man's soul from one body into another; because the ignorant souls from hence seemed to get opportunity of being informed, before the end of the world, concerning the death and resurrection of our Saviour. Who would have imagined before that this same G. Keith should have accused the Quakers of inorthodoxy in

point of doctrine, which he had often so effectually defended ; and among the rest, in a book against one Cotton Mather, wherein upon the charge of their being guilty of many heresies and blasphemies, he said after this manner ; “ Our principles do mostly agree with the fundamental articles of the Christian Protestant faith. According to my best knowledge of the people called Quakers and those owned by them as preachers and publishers of their belief, being of an unquestionable esteem among them, and worthy of double honour, as there are many such, I know none of them that are guilty of such heresies and blasphemies as they are charged with. And I think I should know, and do know those called Quakers, having been conversant with them in public meetings as well as in private discourses, with the most noted and esteemed among them, for about twenty eight years past, and that in many places of the world, both in Europe and America.” Who would ever have thought then, that one who had conversed so many years with the Quakers, preached their doctrine, and defended it publicly both by writing and by word of mouth, should afterwards have decried them, as deniers of the most essential points of the Christian faith ! *But to what extravagancies may not temporal gain transport a man, the case of Balaam may serve for an evidence.*

I have in all this relation of Keith's behaviour, set down nothing but what I believe to be really true; neither have I endeavoured to aggravate his failures; for I never bore him ill will, but a good esteem when I believed him to be upright, because in that time I perceived in him some good abilities. And I yet wish from my very heart, that it may please God, in his unsearchable mercy so to touch his heart, before the door of grace be shut; that seeing the greatness of his transgression, he may by true repentance, obtain forgiveness from the Lord, of his evil: which I take to be worse, because by his craftiness he endeavoured to set false colours on things that were really good, thereby to insinuate himself into favour with the Episcopal party.\* And since some others suborned thereto did not omit also to render the Quakers odious, as such that held inorthodox sentiments, these did not neglect to shew in print how they were injured and wronged. For now the old tale, that there were popish emissaries among them, was revived and divulged anew. But it was no hard matter for them to shew how ill grounded this conceit was; and therefore they might say, "We are so well known to our neighbours, that if this were true, our adversa-

\* N. B. This was written some years before I heard G. Keith was deceased.

ries would be very active to find out and discover such emissaries, since the law against them is still in force. Three episcopal clergymen in Norfolk, had also drawn up a paper to the king and parliament, to blacken the Quakers from their own writings; but George Whitehead, William Penn, and others, were not backward to shew how their words, or the true meaning thereof were perverted; since at such a rate, even the salutary lessons of the holy Scriptures might be exposed as wicked expressions.

Now the late king James intending an invasion upon England, and great preparations being made in France in order thereto, a plot was discovered in England against king William; this gave occasion to the House of Commons to draw up a kind of declaration, which was called an association, to be signed by all their members, as follows:

“Whereas there has been a horrible and detestable conspiracy, formed and carried on by Papists, and other wicked and traiterous persons, for assassinating his majesty’s royal person, in order to encourage an invasion from France, to subvert our religion, laws, and liberties; we whose names are hereunto subscribed, do heartily, sincerely, and solemnly promise, testify and declare, that his present majesty king William, is rightful and lawful king of



these realms. And we do mutually promise and engage to stand by and assist each other, to the utmost of our power, in the support and defence of his majesty's most sacred person and government, against the late king James, and all his adherents. And in case his majesty come to any violent and untimely death (which God forbid) we do hereby farther freely and unanimously oblige ourselves to unite, associate and stand by each other, in revenging the same upon his enemies and their adherents, and in supporting and defending the succession of the crown, according to an act made in the first year of the reign of king William and queen Mary, entitled "An Act declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects, and settling the succession of the Crown."

An association was also signed by the lords, and both presented to the king, and were followed by all the corporations in England. See Life of king William, vol. III. The dissenters also presented declarations to the king, that had some resemblance with the other. But the Quakers professing non-resistance, and an inoffensive behaviour, could in no wise enter *into* such a league; yet to shew that they were *loyal and faithful* to the king, they drew up *the following* declaration, and published it *in print*:

The ancient testimony and principle of the people called Quakers renewed, with respect to the king and government, and touching the present association.

“ We, the said people, do solemnly and sincerely declare, that it hath been our judgment and principle from the first day we were called to profess the light of Christ Jesus manifested in our consciences unto this day, that the setting up, and putting down kings, and governments, is God’s peculiar prerogative, for causes best known to himself; and that it is not our work or business to have any hand or contrivance therein, nor to be busy-bodies in matters above our stations; much less to plot and contrive the ruin or overturn of any of them; but to pray for the king and for the safety of our nation, and good of all men, that we may live a peaceable and quiet life, in all godliness and honesty, under the government which God is pleased to set over us.

“ And according to this our ancient and innocent principle, we often have given forth our testimony, and now do, against all plotting, conspiracies, and contriving insurrection against the king or the government, and against all treacherous, barbarous, and murderous designs whatsoever, as works of the devil and darkness and we sincerely bless God, and are hearti

thankful to the king and government, for the liberty and privileges we enjoy under them by law; esteeming it our duty to be true and faithful to them.

“ And whereas we the said people are required to sign the said association, we sincerely declare, that our refusing so to do, is not out of any disaffection to the king or government, nor in opposition to his being declared rightful and lawful king of these realms, but purely because we cannot for conscience-sake fight, kill, or revenge either for ourselves or any man else.

“ And we believe that the timely discovery and prevention of the late barbarous design and mischievous plot against the king and government, and the sad effects it might have had, is an eminent mercy from Almighty God; for which we, and the whole nation, have great cause to be humbly thankful to him, and to pray for the continuance of his mercies to them and us.

“ From a meeting of the said people in London, the 23d of the first month, called March, 169<sup>5</sup>/<sub>6</sub>.”

*In this year Roger Haydock died of a fever, at his house in Penketh, in Lancashire, about the age of fifty three years. He had been i*

Holland the year before, in which time I had more than once opportunity to speak with him privately, and thereby discovered such Christian qualities in him, that were indeed excellent; therefore the news of his decease did much affect me; and because of his ministry, in which he was eminent, being more than ordinarily full of matter in his preaching; his death was much lamented among those churches in England where he had laboured most in the gospel. His wife, Eleanor, in her testimony concerning him, said, "My spirit hath been, and is bowed under a deep sense of my great loss and exercise, in the removal of my dear husband, whom it hath pleased God in his wisdom to take away from me, who was comfort to my life, and joy to my days in this world, being given me of God, in great mercy and loving-kindness; and so he hath been enjoyed by me in thankfulness of heart, to the close of that time God had appointed; and now is taken from the world, with all its troubles and exercises, as also from all his labours and travels, which were great amongst the churches of Christ, which with me have no small loss in his removal. But what shall I say: wise and good is the Lord, who doth what he will in heaven and in earth, and amongst his churches and his chosen. He can break and bind up, wound and heal, kill and make alive

again, that the living may see his wonders, and magnify his power in all, through all, and over all, who is God eternal, blessed for ever. Amen."

Then in her testimony she gives an account of his life, and how in her young years he had been to her a faithful instructor in godliness, and at length became her husband. After a description of his life, and his many travels in the ministry of the gospel, to edify and build up the churches, she saith also, that though his love to her was above all visibles, as the best of enjoyments he had in this world, yet she was not too dear to him to give up to serve the truth of God. "I was made (saith she) a blessing to him, more comfortable every day than other: he would often express it; and truly so was he to me every day, every way, and in every respect. No tongue nor pen can relate the full of that comfort and joy we had in God, and one in another. Yet we find such hath been the pleasure of God concerning them he hath loved, to try them in the most near and dear enjoyments, that it might be manifest he was loved above all; that no gifts may be preferred above the giver; but that he may be all in all, who is, and is to come, God blessed for ever. - And truly there hath been great care and watchfulness one over another, and over our own spirits, to see that our love, though

great, was bounded and kept within its compass, the truth being its original, the Alpha and Omega also. Although it hath been the pleasure of God to try me, in the removal of so great a blessing from me, sure it is, that I may be the more inward, to him, and have his love always in my remembrance, who gives and takes away, and, in all bless his name. My souls travails that I may always follow his footsteps of self-denial in all things, that I may finish my course in this world to the glory of God, as he did, and have my part in that mansion of glory with him eternal in the heavens ; though it may be my lot to stay for a time, in this world of troubles, yet I have hope in immortality and eternal blessedness, when time in this world shall be no more." Thus she wrote : but to shun prolixity, I break off. She then giving some account of his life and ministry, mentions, that being gone from home, she was not present at his death ; but that they having taken leave of each other before, had parted in great love, with mutual breathings to God, for one another's welfare : and she concludes with these words : " Though I saw not his going away, yet I have seen in what he went, and that it was full of zeal and fervency in the love of God, and life of righteousness. So in pure submission, to the will of God, I conclude this short but true relation of

my worthy dear husband, whose name and memory is blessed, and will live, and be of a sweet savour in the hearts of the righteous through ages." With such a testimony, it was, that Eleanor transmitted the memorial of her beloved consort to posterity.

Meeting in this year with no more remarkable occurrences, I pass over the year 1697, in which a treaty of peace was concluded between England, France, and Holland; and though many thought it would be lasting, yet among the popish clergy there were those that had another opinion of it; of which this artificial distich sent over by a clergyman from Ghent in Flanders, to Holland, so that it fell first into my hands, was an evidence.

*Prospicimus modò quod durabunt Fœdera longo  
Tempore, nec nobis pax citò diffugiet.*

which may be turned into English thus, "We foresee now that the confederacy shall last a long time, and that peace will not quickly fly away from us." But if one reads this distich backward, it runs thus :

*Diffugiet citò pax nobis, nec tempore longo  
Fœdera durabunt, quod modò prospicimus.*

and it makes out a quite contrary sense. viz.

“Peace will soon fly away from us, and the covenant shall not last long;” which we foresee already.”

This peace being concluded, the inhabitants of England vied with one another to congratulate their king on that account, who was now acknowledged as king of Great Britain, by the French king Lewis XIV. And since the magistrates of cities, the heads and fellows of the universities, and people of all societies and persuasions addressed the king, the Quakers were not wanting in this respect, and therefore drew up also an address, which they presented to the king, and was as followeth.

To King William III. over England, &c.

The grateful acknowledgment of the people  
commonly called Quakers, humbly  
presented.

“May it please the king,

“Seeing the most high God, who ruleth in the kingdoms of men, and appointeth over them whomsoever he will, hath by his over-ruling power and providence, placed thee in dominion and dignity over these realms; and by his *divine favour* hath signally preserved and delivered thee from many great and imminent dangers, and graciously turned the calamity



of war into the desired mercy of peace; we heartily wish that we and all others concerned may be truly sensible and humbly thankful to Almighty God for the same, that the peace may be a lasting and perpetual blessing.

And now, O king, the God of peace having returned thee in safety, it is cause of joy to them that fear him, to hear thy good and reasonable resolution effectually to discourage profaneness and immorality, righteousness being that which exalteth a nation; and as the king has been tenderly inclined to give ease and liberty of conscience to his subjects of different persuasions, (of whose favours we have largely partaken) so we esteem it our duty gratefully to commemorate and acknowledge the same: earnestly beseeching Almighty God to assist the king to prosecute all these his just and good inclinations, that his days here may be happy and peaceable, and hereafter he may partake of a lasting crown that will never fade away."

London, the 7th of the 11th Month  
called January, 1697.

*This address being signed, and presented to the king by George Whitehead, Thomas Lower, Daniel Quare, John Vaughton, John Edge, and Gilbert Latey, was favourably received and*

accepted by that prince; who gave signal proofs that he bore no ill will to any for difference of opinion in religion, if they were honest people; of which this may serve for an evidence, that both his watch maker, and the nurse of the young duke of Gloucester, were of the Quakers persuasion.

I think it was about the beginning of the year 1698, that a bill was brought into parliament, for restraining the licentiousness of the press. Those called Quakers perceiving that this might be pernicious, drew up the following remarks, which they delivered to the members of parliament :

Some considerations humbly offered by the people called Quakers, relating to the bill for restraining the licentiousness of the press.

“This bill is, they conceive, of the like nature with the expired act, 13 and 14 Car. 2. ch. 38. and many inconveniences did attend the subjects by it whilst in force, by which the said people were sufferers.

“To prevent the printing and publishing of seditious or treasonable books against the government, and scandalous pamphlets tending to *vice and immorality*, is the wisdom of all good

governments, and must be the desire of all good

"But to limit religious books to a license, where the tolerated persuasions are many, they conceive seems altogether unsafe to all, but that whose opinion the licenser is of, who by this bill hath power to allow what he shall judge sound and orthodox, or reject what he shall construe to be either heretical, seditious, or offensive.

"History and experience have taught how the obscure term of heresy hath been turned and stretched against primitive Christian martyrs, and famous reformers. nor is it forgotten for what reasons the writ *De Hæretico Comburendo* was abolished.

"It is no strange thing to have learned men of the same church interfered in their opinions concerning several texts of holy Scripture; and it is uncertain when their opinions come to the licenser, whether the world shall have the best or no.

"The different apprehensions men have of divers parts of Scripture, gives birth to different persuasions, who yet all make Scripture the test thereof; which by the kindness of the government being tolerated, they conceive they ought to be left free to defend them from the misrepresentations, prejudice or mistake of others, without being subjected to the censure of a censor of a different persuasion.

“They therefore humbly hope that nothing may be enacted that will lessen the toleration, which they thankfully enjoy under the favour of this, as well as the late government.”

These considerations, with what others were offered, were of such effect, that the bill dropped.

About this time the writings of Antonia Bourignon were not only translated into English, but also published in print at London. This displeased many of the clergy, that an author was employed to write against them, but chiefly against the Quakers. He called his book, “The Snake in the Grass;” but his own name he concealed; though it was discovered afterwards that he was a suppressed parson, who had refused the oath of allegiance to King William. This man, to render the Quakers odious, had picked up and collected many things from their writings; but he had so mutilated their expressions, by omitting several words that went before, or followed, and by skipping over some in the midst of the period, that they made out quite another sense than the authors had given. To this he added relations of several things that happened, as he said among the Quakers. Whereas some of these were fictitious, and mere untruths; he also raked up things that never had been approved by the Quakers, as the cas

of James Nayler described here before in its due place; notwithstanding the said James Nayler had publicly given eminent tokens of true repentance.

Amongst the author's untruths this was one, that the Quakers in their schools did not suffer their children to read the holy Scriptures. The falseness of which was made to appear by a certificate of the French usher of one of their schools at Wandsworth, near London, who himself was no Quaker; as also by the testimonies of some of the neighbours that were people of note; and declared that the bible was daily read by the scholars in the said school, beginning with Genesis, and going on to the end of the Revelations; and then from Genesis again. The false citations of the aforesaid author, were also clearly set forth; for if any would be so malicious, it might by his method be insinuated from Psal. xiv. 1. and Psal. liii. 1, that in the holy Scriptures was said, "There is no God;" because these words are indeed found there. But who would be so desperate as to draw such a conclusion from thence, unless he were an atheist, who openly made a mock of what is sacred. The answerers of this poisonous book, "*The Snake in the Grass*," were George Whitehead and Joseph Wyeth; this being a work which required more toil and labour than art, to review all those manifold citations from many

authors, and to shew the unfairness and disingenuity of the Snake. Now since many were very ready to take for true the falsities in that book, and also in the pamphlets of the apostate Francis Bugg, who was gone over to the church of England, at the request of John Crook (who was still alive, though above eighty years of age) a book of his was reprinted, first published in the year 1663, and so five and thirty years before, the title of which was, "Truth's principles concerning the Man Christ, his Suffering, Death, Resurrection, Faith in his Blood, the Imputation of his righteousness, &c. By this it appeared that the sentiments of the Quakers concerning these points were not only orthodox now, but that they had been so in those early days.

Having thus again made mention of John Crook, of whom I have spoken several times in this history, I proceed now to mention somewhat concerning his decease, since he departed this life in the year 1699. He left behind in writing an exhortation or advice to his children and grandchildren, written scarcely two months before his death, and of this tenor :

"Dear Children,

"I must leave you in a wicked age, but commend you to the measure of the grace of God in your inward parts, which you have received

by Jesus Christ; and as you love it, and mind the teachings of it, you will find it a counsellor to instruct you in the way everlasting, and preserve you out of the ways of the ungodly.

“I have seen much in my day, and I always observed that the fear of the Lord God proved the best portion; and those that walked in it were the only happy people, both in this life (while they continued faithful) and when they come to die, though they meet with many hardships in their passage. By experience I can speak it, that the ways of holiness afford more true comfort and peace to the upright soul, than the greatest pleasures this world can afford; the former reaches the heart and soul, while the delights of this world are but a shew, and appearance only, vanishing like a dream: and whoever believes otherwise of them, will certainly find them to be but lying vanities; therefore the apostle, Rom. vi. 21. might boldly put the question to the converted Romans, viz. “What fruit had you in those things whereof you are now ashamed? For the end of those things is death.”

“Therefore, dear children, be in love with holiness; make it your companion, and those that walk in it; you may find buddings of it from an holy seed in your hearts; as you mind the inner man, the light will manifest the stirrings of it after God, which I felt from my tender

years; although I understood them not so plainly, till I heard the truth declared.

“I advise you to keep a pure conscience, both towards God and man: for if that be defiled, hypocrisy and formality will deprive you of all comfortable feeling of God’s presence; and then deadness and dryness will be your miserable portion.

“Be careful how you spend your precious time, for an account must be given of every idle word, though but few regard it; but foolish jesting and vain talking, are said to grieve the Spirit of God; read Eph. iv. 29, 30. But improve your time in prayer and religious exercises, &c. and be diligent in your lawful callings; for, “The desire of the slothful man killeth him,” Prov. xxi. 25.

“Be careful what company you frequent; for a man is commonly known by the company he keeps, as much as by any one outward thing; and of your behaviour in company; for I have found that a wise and sober deportment, adds much to a man’s reputation and credit in the world.

“Watch to the light, and its discoveries of good and evil, that you may not be ignorant of Satan’s devices; so the net will be spread in vain in the sight of the bird, for watchfulness will make you in love with a retired estate; and the more truly, and perfectly any man



knows and understands himself, the better discerning will such have of other men; as in the beginning, when deep silence of all flesh was more in use, the spirit of discerning was more common and quicker, than since it hath been neglected; therefore be sure you spend some time (at convenient seasons,) in waiting upon God in silence, though it be displeasing to flesh; for I have had more comfort and confirmation in the truth, in my inward retiring in silence, than from all words I have heard from others, though I have often been refreshed by them also.

“ Love the holy Scriptures, preferring them to all other books whatsoever; and be careful to read them with an holy awe upon your spirits, lest your imaginations put constructions upon them to your hurt; but exercise faith in the promise of Christ, who hath said, “ My spirit shall take of mine, and shew them unto you.”

“ Keep constantly to religious meetings amongst friends; but look to your affections, that you respect not persons, but the power and life of truth, from whomsoever it comes; not minding the tickling of your affections, but the demonstrations of the truth to your understandings and consciences; for that will abide, when flashes of affections will fade and come to nothing, after the words are ended.

“ Love one another truly, manifesting your love by good counsel, and being helpful to each other upon all occasions; being good examples to all you converse with, especially to your children, and those of your own families; that pride and vanity may not be countenanced by you, but rather reprov'd; remembering while they are under your government, you must give an account of the discharge of your duty to God towards them.

“ Lastly, Be always mindful of your latter end, and live as you would die, not knowing how soon your days may be finished in this world: and while you do live in it, despise not the chastenings of the Lord, whatever they be he is pleased to visit you withal. I have been afflicted from my youth up, both inwardly and outwardly, but the God whom I served provided for me, when all my outward relations forsook me, none of them giving me any portion to begin the world withal. This I speak, to let you know, I shall leave more outwardly, even to the least of you, than was left me by all my relations, &c. I need not mention this sharp affliction (beyond expression) in my old age, because, in some measure, you know it; but I could not have been without it, as the Lord hath shewed me, for I have seen his *wonders in the deeps*; therefore I say again, *despise not afflictions, but embrace them as*

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messengers of peace to your souls (though  
leaving to the flesh.)  
These things I commend unto you, out  
true love to your souls, knowing how the  
mind of man little regards such advice  
but this I leave behind me; but by this advice  
show my true love to you all, desiring God's  
blessing upon it; to whom I commit you all,  
my dear children, and end my days.

Your loving father and grandfather,  
John Crook,

at Hartford, the first of the month of January, 1639.  
I have now said of his life and  
writing was more than his: his temper, for his  
stone, gout, and colick, attacked him sometimes  
sorely; and though this hindered his pen-  
cils, yet he always behaved himself patiently,  
though his pain was sometimes so violent,  
that he was often heard to say, that did he not  
feel and witness an inward power from the Lord,  
He could not subsist under his great pain.  
That of the stone was the greatest, which  
continued with him to his end; and yet he was  
not heard to utter any unsavoury word, or to  
cry out impatiently; but when the extremity  
of his fits were over, then he expressed his

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inward joy and peace, and so praised the Lord. He had an excellent gift in opening the mysteries of the holy Scriptures, so that he was like Apollos, of whom we find upon record, that he was an eloquent man, and mighty in the Scriptures. And by his zealous and effectual preaching, when he was in his strength of life, many were convinced of the truth. In his latter days he said sometimes that the furnace of affliction was of good use to purge away the dross and earthly part in us. And under the sorrow and grief he had concerning some of his offspring, he would sometimes comfort himself with the words of David, "Although my house be not so with God, yet he hath made with me an everlasting covenant, ordered in all things, and sure." In his old age he was many times heard to say, "Many of the ancients are gone to their long home, and we are making haste after them: they step away, before me, and I, that would go, cannot. Well, it will be my turn soon also." And then he seemed to rejoice in the consideration, that the time of his dissolution, to be freed from his sore distempers, approached apace. Yet in the latter part of his life he often appeared so strong in the spiritual warfare, that some judged that in some respect he might have said *with Caleb*, "As yet I am as strong this day as I was in the day that Moses sent me: as my

strength was then, even so is my strength now, for war, both to go out and to come in." About three weeks before his death, though he was weak in body, yet he said powerfully, and after a prophetic manner; "Truth must prosper, truth shall prosper; but a trying time must first come, and afterwards the glory of the Lord shall more and more appear." He continued in a sedate and truly Christian frame of mind to the last period of his life, and departed the 26th of the month called April, in the eighty-second year of his age, at his house in Hertford, where he had lived many years. I knew him in England, and he hath also been in Holland, so that I do not speak of one that was unknown to me.

George Keith, by vilifying the doctrine of the Quakers, was now so much in favour with the episcopal clergy, that he began to serve them as a vicar; having been ordained by the bishop of London about the year 1700. And since this seemed strange and wonderful to many, somebody, of what persuasion I do not know, made a collection of his sentiments concerning a national church, and its clergy, and what account he gave of their rites, and ceremonies, from books and papers he had published many years before: to which the author gave this title, "*Mr. George Keith's Account of a National Church and Clergy*, humbly presented to the

bishop of London." To this were added some queries he once wrote concerning what is called the sacrament of the Lord's supper. This account was now published in print, and presented to the bishop of London, ending with these words of the apostle, "If I build again the things which I destroyed, I make myself a transgressor."

In the next year, viz. 1701, the late king James died in France. I mentioned before how that unhappy prince, after having ascended the throne, fell suddenly by his hasty conduct, and ardent desire to introduce popery in England, and all his endeavours to regain his lost kingdoms proved ineffectual. In September, being at mass, he was seized with a qualm, and the distemper increasing, within a day or two he vomited blood, and all remedies made use of were unprofitable. If what was written about that time from Paris be true, he declared that he forgave all men what they had done amiss to him: and on the 16th of the said month he died at St. Germain's in France, where he kept his court.

King William was returned from Holland, where he had been, because of new troubles drawing on from France. And since the succession of the crown of England was now settled in the Protestant line, and for want of nearer

Protestant heirs, then to the house of Hanover, the king was congratulated on that account with many addresses from his subjects: and therefore those called Quakers thought it also their duty to address him (against whose life a horrible plot was discovered) with a thankful acknowledgment of his favours. This they did as followeth, it being presented to the king in December, by George Whitehead, Wm. Mead, and Francis Camfield.

To king WILLIAM III, over England, &c.

An address from the People commonly called Quakers, humbly presented.

May it please the King,

“WE, thy dutiful subjects, sincerely express our joy for thy safe return to thy people; having great cause to love, honour, and pray for thee, as a prince whom we believe God hath promoted and principled for the good ends of government, under whose reign we enjoy great mercies and favours; and particularly that of liberty to tender consciences in religious worship, as a proper expedient to unite thy Protestant subjects in interest and affection.

“For which great mercy we cannot but be hum.  
God; and renew our gratef

acknowledgment to the king, whom God by his almighty power hath eminently preserved, and made exemplary in prudence, as well as goodness, to other kings and princes, whereby thy memorial will be renowned to posterity.

“ We are also engaged to bless the Lord for that he hath manifestly frustrated the mischievous and treacherous designs of thine and the nations adversaries, both against the lawful establishment of thy throne, and the true interest of thy Protestant subjects.

“ And we beseech Almighty God to bless the good designs and just undertakings of the king, and his great council, for the good of his people, and for obtaining to Europe a firm and lasting peace ; and continue thee, O king, a blessing to these nations, establish thy throne in mercy and truth, give to thee a long and prosperous reign over us, and hereafter a glorious immortality, is, and shall be the fervent prayer of us, thy true and faithful subjects.

Signed in behalf and by appointment of  
the aforesaid people, at a meeting in  
London, the 8th Month 1701.

This address being read to the king, was favourably received, and he thanked those that presented it. George Whitehead and the others saying what they thought material to the case



the king returned, "I have protected you, and shall protect you:" and repairing with the address to his closet, he read it over again, as was understood afterwards, and spoke in its commendation. But he keeping the paper some days by him, without giving it to be made public by the Gazetteer, some French newswriters in London forged a very ridiculous address, and sent it beyond sea; and the French Gazetteers in Holland were very ready to divulge in their prints such fictitious stuff, though the expressions therein were so exceeding blunt and unmannerly, that they could not be spoken to a king, but by such who were impudent enough publicly to make a mock at crowned heads, which the Quakers never have been guilty of. After a few days the king gave the address to be made public; and then every body could see how shamefully the French news mongers had exposed their malice.

This year being come to an end, that of 1702 followed, and also the end of king William's life.

The French king, upon the death of the king of Spain, had not only placed his grandson, the duke of Anjou, on the throne of that kingdom, *but had also acknowledged the pretended prince of Wales as king of England; by which in a manner, he attainted king William's crown; so thereupon took occasion to make alliances*

for his security, with other princes and potentates. Of this he gave notice to the parliament that was then sitting, who promised to assist him to the utmost of their power, and to maintain the succession of the crown in the Protestant line. And an abjuration was also drawn up, wherein was declared, that the aforesaid pretended prince, who now suffered himself to be called James the Third, king of England, &c. had no right or claim to the crown of that kingdom, or any dominions appertaining thereto. Now though all this was intended for maintaining and assisting the rightful king William, yet he lived not to see the effect of it; for his time was near expired, and his glass run, as soon appeared.

About the beginning of the month called March, he went a hunting, and riding a horse he never rode on before, the horse fell, and the king, at the same time broke his collar bone: the fracture was soon set, and all seemed like to do well; but the king having endured many fatigues and hardships, had been weak in body some time before; insomuch that this sore fall seemed to occasion his sickness, which soon followed, and put a period to his life. But before his departure, he did yet one good work more for the Quakers; for the term of seven years, granted for their affirmation to be accepted instead of an oath, was near expiring; an

therefore they solicited the king and parliament that this act might be continued, and confirmed by a new one, which was obtained ; for the king always shewed himself willing to favour them as his peaceable subjects ; and in parliament many eminent members were well affected towards them. Thereupon this renewed act, containing a prolongation of the said grant for the space of eleven years, passed at length, after mature consideration, the king having named commissioners, who on the third of March, gave the royal assent to it in the house of Lords, because, by reason of his illness, he could not appear himself on the throne. He also sent a message to the parliament, recommending the uniting of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, into one, commissioners being already appointed in Scotland, to treat with the English concerning that affair : but time shewed that he was not to bring that work to an end, since the accomplishing thereof was reserved for his successor, though some hopes appeared of his recovery ; for he had been walking a little in his garden to take the air, and sitting down afterwards, he caught cold, which was followed by a fever ; and his sickness so increased, that *on the next first day of the week, being the eighth of the month called March, he died at Kensington, to the great grief of all his faithful subjects ; nay, such was the sorrow on the*

death of that excellent prince, that the news of it being come to Holland, it caused a general dejection, and drew tears from many eyes ; for perhaps no king in these late ages hath been more beloved than he was. The day before his demise, he had by commissioners given the royal assent to the bill of abjuration of the pretended prince of Wales ; and the following night, feeling death approaching, he sent for the princess Anne, sister of his deceased consort, queen Mary ; and having kept her sometime with him, after tender embracing, he wished her the last farewell. Then he sent for the archbishop of Canterbury, and his understanding continuing good to the last, with evident tokens of piety, and a resignation to the will of his Creator, in the morning about eight of the clock, he gave up the ghost to him from whom he had received it, being entered into the fifty second year of his age, and having reigned as king above thirteen years.

In the afternoon the princess Anne was proclaimed queen of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, &c. and the parliament promised to assist her, in maintaining those alliances that were already made, or should yet be made, with foreign powers. This the queen accepted with *much satisfaction*, and confirmed the *ministers and high officers* in their respective *stations*. She also wrote to the *states-general*

the United Netherlands, that she would keep to the alliances made with the states by the deceased king her brother.

The body of the king, which was lean, and much emaciated, was opened after his death, and many of the inward parts appeared sound, especially the brain ; yet in general little blood was found in the body ; but in the lungs, which adhered much to the pleura, was more than in all the other parts ; his heart was firm and strong ; but some inflammations, on the left side of the lungs, were thought to have been the immediate cause of the king's death, for he had long been asthmatical.

He was of a middle stature ; his face lean and oblong ; his eyes were exceeding good, quick, and piercing ; his hands very fine and white ; he did not talk much, but was solid in thought, of a strong memory, quick of apprehension, of a composed mind, and not given to voluptuousness, but grave in his deportment : he often gave evidence of a devout attention at the hearing of the name of God ; and even in the midst of dangers, put great trust in divine Providence. Thus he was valiant and undaunted without temerity ; for where he judged his *presence to be necessary*, he repaired thither *without fear*. He was a great lover of hunting, *that being his most pleasant diversion, which made him the more fit to endure the fatigue*

of war. He was easy of access, and gave a favourable hearing to every body, and those that spoke to him he treated discreetly: and such was his devotion, that he often retired privately, when some thought he was about other business. Many had conceived hopes that this great prince, in that critical juncture, should have lived yet somewhat longer: but his work was done; and God hath since that time shewed very eminently, that he is not limited to any instruments; and the queen who succeeded on the throne, gave afterwards signal proofs of it to the world. His corpse was interred the 12th of the month called April, about midnight, in the chapel of king Henry the VIIth, in Westminster Abbey.

It was by the favour of this king, (a Hollander by birth) that the Quakers, so called, were tolerated as a free people; so that now they saw fulfilled the truth of what some of their deceased friends had prophetically foretold, viz. That it should not be in the power of their enemies to root them out, but that God, in his own time, should work their deliverance.

Thus we have now seen from what weak beginnings they had their rise, and how they increased and became a great people against *all opposition*, of which at first there seemed *little probability*; as in the beginning of this *history* may be seen: and to look a little back

it may appear also, by a testimony of George Fox, published after his death, in the collection of his epistles, viz.

“ When the Lord first sent me forth in the year 1643, I was sent as an innocent lamb (and young in years,) amongst (men in the nature of) wolves, dogs, bears, lions, and tigers, into the world, which the devil had made like a wilderness, no right way then found out of it. And I was sent to turn people from darkness to the light, which Christ, the second Adam, did enlighten them withal; that so they might see Christ, their way to God, with the Spirit of God, which he doth pour upon all flesh, that with it they might have an understanding to know the things of God, and to know him, and his Son Jesus Christ, which is eternal life; and so might worship and serve the living God, their Maker and Creator, who takes care for all, who is Lord of all; and with the light and Spirit of God they might know the Scriptures, which were given forth from the Spirit of God in the saints, and holy men and women of God.

“ And when many began to be turned to the light (which is the life in Christ) and the Spirit of God, which gave them an understanding, and had found the path of the just, the shining light; then did the wolves, dogs, dragons, bears, lions, tigers, wild beasts, and birds of

prey, make a roaring, and a screeching noise against the lambs, sheep, doves, and children of Christ, and were ready to devour them and me, and to tear us to pieces. But the Lord's arm and power did preserve me, though many times I was in danger of my life, and very often cast into dungeons, and prisons, and haled before magistrates. But all things did work together for good: and the more I was cast into outward prisons, the more people came out of their spiritual and inward prison (through the preaching of the gospel.) But the priests and professors were in such a great rage, and made the rude and profane people in such a fury, that I could hardly walk in the streets, or go in the highways, but they were ready oftentimes to do me a mischief. But Christ, who hath all power in heaven and in the earth, did so restrain and limit them with his power, that my life was preserved; though many times I was near killed.

“ Oh, the burdens and travels that I went under ! Often my life pressed down under the spirits of professors and teachers without life, and the profane ! And besides, the troubles afterwards with backsliders, apostates, and false brethren, which were like so many Judases in betraying the truth, and God's faithful and *chosen seed*, and causing the way of truth to be *evil spoken of* ! But the Lord blasted, wasted



and confounded them, so that none d long; for the Lord did either destroy bring them to nought, and his truth did and his people in it, to the praise of G is the revenger of his chosen.

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G. Fox then, having in England the first of the Quakers that preached and p ed Christ the light, which enlighteneth man coming into the world, had in a sh (as we have seen in this history, notwithstanding all opposition) many adherents, whereby others also began to publish that doctrine many of these first preachers were like thunder; for they testifying of the light o shining in the consciences of men, pro that the day of the Lord was dawned, and yet farther break forth, to the destroying former buildings of human inventions and tutions; though not of that which had been felt and enjoyed by true experience operations of the Spirit of God in hearts. By their powerful way of p repentance, many were awakened out sleep of careless security, and came to s *their covering* was too short, and th *were not clothed* with the true wedding g and many that had been of a rude life, *be so touched* to the heart by thes

preachers, that crying out, what shall we do to be saved? they were brought to repentance and conversion; and so from wild and rough, came to be sedate and sober. And as in the beginning many of these first preachers did run on like a mighty stream, and seemed fit to thresh and grind mountains and stones, and to hew down tall cedars, and wash away all opposition; so there were others also, who as sons of consolation, proclaimed glad tidings to the hungry and thirsty souls, many of whom were in England about that time, insomuch that some said, Now the everlasting gospel is preached again. And it was indeed remarkable, that though these promulgators of the doctrine of the inward light shining in the hearts of men, were mean and illiterate, yet many people of note, not only such as were in magistracy, but also many preachers of several persuasions, were so touched at the heart by their lively preaching, that they not only received their doctrine, but came themselves, in process of time, to be zealous publishers thereof, and thus a great crop was gathered; nay sometimes even men of great skill, and sharp wit, were deeply struck by plain and homely preaching; of whom

Isaac Pennington, mentioned more than once *in this history*, was a signal instance, as may appear from a relation concerning himself, writer

with his own hand, and found among his papers after his death, wherein he speaks thus :

“ I have been a man of sorrow and affliction from my childhood, feeling the want of the Lord, and mourning after him, separated by him from the love, nature and spirit of this world, and turned in spirit towards him, almost ever since I could remember.

“ In this sense of my lost estate, I sought after the Lord, I read Scriptures, I watched over mine own heart, I cried unto the Lord for what I felt the want of, I blessed his name in what he mercifully did for me, and bestowed on me, &c. Whatever I read in the Scriptures, as the way of God to my understanding. I gave myself to the faithful practice of; being contented to meet with all the reproach, opposition, and several kinds of sufferings, which it pleased the Lord to measure out to me therein; and I cannot but say, that the Lord was good unto me, did visit me, did teach me, did help me, did testify his acceptance of me many times, to the refreshing and joy of my heart before him.

“ But my soul was not satisfied with what I met with, nor indeed could be, there being further quickenings and pressings in my spirit, after a more full, certain, and satisfactory knowledge; even after the sense, sight, and enjoyment of God, as was testified in the Scriptures to have been felt and enjoyed in the former times: for I saw plainly, that there was a stop of the streams, and a great falling short of the power, life, and glory, which they partook of. We had not so the spirit, nor were so in the faith, nor did so walk and live in God, as they did. They were come to Mount Sion and the heavenly Jerusalem, &c. which we had hardly so much as the *literal knowledge* or apprehension what they were. So *that I saw the whole course of religion among us, was (for the most part) but a talk, to what they felt, enjoyed, possessed; and lived in.*

“This sense made me sick at heart indeed, and set me upon deep crying to God, close searching the Scriptures, and waiting on God, that I might receive the pure sense and understanding of them, from and in the light, and by the help of his Spirit. (And what the Lord did bestow on me in that state, with thankfulness I remember before him at this very day : for he was then my God, and a pitier and a watcher over ; though he had not pleased then to direct me, how to stay my mind upon him and abide with him.) And then I was led (indeed I was led, I did not run of myself) into a way of separation from the worship of the world, into a gathered society : for this both the Scripture and the Spirit of God in me gave testimony unto ; and what we then met with, and what leadings and help we then felt, there is a remembrance and testimony in my heart to this day. But there was somewhat wanting, and we mistook our way : for whereas we should have pressed forward into the spirit and power, we ran too much outward into letter and form : and though the Lord in many things helped us, yet therein he was against us, and brought darkness, confusion, and scattering upon us. I was sorely broken and darkened, and in this darkened state, sometimes lay still for a long season, secretly mourning and crying out to the Lord night and day ; sometimes I ran about, hearkening after what might appear or break forth in others, but never met with any thing, whereto there was the least answer in my heart, save in one people, who had a touch of truth : but I never expressed so much to any of them, nor indeed felt them at all able to reach my condition.

“At last, after all my distresses, wanderings and sore travails, I met with some writings of this people called Quakers, which I cast a slight eye upon and disdained, as falling very short of that wisdom, light, life, and power, which I had been longing for and searching after : I had likewise (some pretty distance of time after this) opportunity of meeting with some of them, a

divers of them were by the Lord moved (I know it to be so since) to come to me : as I remember, at the very first they reached to the life of God in me ; which life answered their voice, and caused a great love in me to spring to them ; but still in my reasonings with them, and disputes alone (in my mind) concerning them, I was very far off from owning them, as so knowing the Lord, or so appearing in his life and power as my condition needed, and as my soul waited for. Yea, the more I conversed with them, the more I seemed in my understanding and reason to get over them, and to trample them under my feet as a poor, weak, silly, contemptible generation ; who had some smatterings of truth in them, and some honest desires towards God, but very far off from the clear and full understanding of his way and will. And this was the effect almost of every discourse with them, they still reached my heart, and I felt them in the secrets of my soul, which caused the love in me always to continue, yea sometimes to increase towards them ; but daily my understanding got more and more over them, and therein I daily more and more despised them.

“ After a long time I was invited to hear one of them, (as I had been often, they in tender love pitying me, and feeling my want of that which they possessed) and there was an answer in my heart, and I went in fear and trembling, with desires to the Most High, who was over all, and knew all, that I might not receive any thing for truth, which was not of him, nor withstand any thing which was of him, but might bow before the appearance of the Lord my God, and none other : and indeed, when I came, I felt the presence and power of the Most High among them ; and words of truth, from the spirit of *truth reaching to my heart and conscience, opening my state as in the presence of the Lord.* Yea, I did not *only feel words and demonstrations from without, but I felt the dead quickened, and the seed raised, insomuch as my heart, (in the certainty of light and clearness of*

true sense) said. "This is he, this is he, there is no other; this is he whom I have waited for and sought after from my childhood, who was always near me, and had often begotten life in my heart but I knew him not distinctly, nor how to receive him, or dwell with him." And then in this sense (in the melting and breaking of my spirit) was I given up to the Lord, to become his, both in waiting for the farther revealings of his seed in me, and to serve him in the life and power of his seed.

"Now what I met with after this, in my travails, in my waitings, in my spiritual exercises, is not to be uttered; only in general I may say this, I met with the very strength of hell. The cruel oppressor roared upon me, and made me feel the bitterness of his captivity, while he had any power: yea, the Lord was far from my help, and from the voice of my roaring. I also met with deep subtleties and devices to entangle me in that wisdom, which seemeth able to make wise in the things of God; but indeed is foolishness and a snare to the soul, bringing it back into captivity, where the enemy's gins prevail. And what I met with outwardly from my own dear father, from my kindred, from my servants, from the people and powers of the world, for no other cause but fearing my God, worshipping him as he hath required of me, and bowing to his seed (which is his Son) who is to be worshipped by men and angels for evermore; the Lord my God knoweth, before whom my heart and ways are, who preserved me in love to them, in the midst of all I suffered from them, and doth still so preserve me, blessed be his pure and holy name.

"But some may desire to know what I have at last met with: I answer, "I have met with the seed." Understand that word, and thou wilt be satisfied, and inquire no farther. I have met with my God, I have met with my Saviour; and he hath not been present with me without his salvation: but I have felt the healings drop upon my soul from under his wings. I have met with the true knowledge, the knowledge of life, the

ving knowledge, the knowledge which is life; and this hath had the true virtue in it, which my soul hath rejoiced in, in the presence of the Lord. I have met with the seed's father: and in the seed I have felt him my father: there I have read his nature, his love, his compassions, his tenderness, which have melted, overcome, and changed my heart before him. I have met with the seed's faith, which hath done and doth that which the faith of man can never do. I have met with the true birth, with the birth which is heir of the kingdom, and inherits the kingdom. I have met with the true spirit of prayer and supplication, wherein the Lord is prevailed with, and which draws from him whatever the condition needs, the soul always looking up to him in the will, and in the time and way which is acceptable with him. What shall I say? I have met with the true peace, the true righteousness, the true holiness, the true rest of the soul, the everlasting habitation, which the redeemed dwell in. And I know all these to be true, in him that is true, and am capable of no doubt, dispute or reasoning in my mind about them, it abiding there, where it hath received the full assurance and satisfaction. And also I know very well and distinctly in spirit, where the doubts and disputes are, and where the certainty and full assurance is, and in the tender mercy of the Lord am preserved out of the one, and in the other.

“Now (the Lord knows) these things I do not utter in a boasting way, but would rather be speaking of my nothingness, my emptiness, my weakness, my manifold infirmities which I feel more than ever. The Lord hath broken the man's part in me, and I am a worm and no man before him: I have no strength to do any good or service for him; nay, I cannot watch over or preserve myself: I feel daily that I keep not alive my own soul, but am weaker before men, yea weaker in my spirit (as in myself) than ever I have been. But I cannot but utter to the praise of my God, that I feel his arm stretched out for me; and my weakness (which I feel in my

at my loss, but advantage before him. And these things I write, as having no end at all therein of my own, but that I felt it this morning required of me, and so in submission and subjection to my God, have I given up to do it, leaving the success and service of it with him.

“ I. Pennington.”

Aylesbury, 15th of 3d month, 1667.

From this conclusion we see the humility of the mind of this friend, who, when he wrote this, was already far advanced in the way of godliness, and had lived several years in the communion of those called Quakers. Now though it be the duty of every one, not to be conceited of himself, yet certain it is, that men of refined wits, above all others, have need to continue truly humble, and not to rely thereon, since the trusting to acuteness of wit, hath rather drawn off many from the way of truth, than led them to it; nay, it hath occasioned the fall of some. But that I. Pennington endeavoured to continue in true humility, appears plainly, from the relation above. He was a man of a very compassionate temper, and yet valiant in adversities; he also suffered not a little on account of his religion, but endured many tedious and long imprisonments; which were the more hard to him, because he being of a weakly constitution, the suffering of cold and hardship, did him the *more hurt*. And yet he never fainted, but *continued steadfast* to the end of his life, which was



THE HISTORY OF THE 1702.

atter part of the year 1679, when he  
d in a pious frame of mind.  
the foregoing relation, it appears evident  
at he was very earnestly seeking after the  
way to salvation, before he attained to a  
fect quietness of mind: yet in that time  
ere wanted not such as were helpful to him  
with good and wholesome advice; and among  
these John Crook (whose occurrences make up  
no small part of this history) was none of the  
least. And since there is yet extant a letter of  
his to him, wherein he not only spoke very  
effectually to the inward state of I. Pennington;  
but for his instruction and encouragement, gave  
also an account of the great difficulties and  
temptations he himself had met with, I cannot  
well omit to insert the same here; because  
from the ingenuous and open hearted letters of  
familiar friends to one another, we generally  
may discover very plainly their inward state,  
and also their outward qualities. This letter  
was as followeth,

" Dear friend,  
" My dear and tender love salutes thee  
that love from whence I had my being,  
from whence sprang all my Father's chil-  
dren are born from above, heirs of an ever-  
lasting life. Oh! how sweet and ple-  
asing my Father calls

sheep to his  
his pasture  
for them  
that are  
kingdom  
ready  
sure  
care  
he  
ca  
t

to feed in; there is variety of plenty in pastures, milk for babes, and strong meat for them of riper age, and wine to refresh those that are ready to faint; even the wine of the kingdom, that makes glad the heart when it is ready to faint, by reason of the infirmities: sure I am, none can be so weary, but he takes care of them; nor none so nigh fainting, but he puts his arm under their heads; nor none can be so beset with enemies on every side, but he will arise and scatter; nor none so heavy laden and big with young, but he takes notice of them, and gently leads them, and will not leave them behind unto the merciless wolf; because they are his own, and his life is the price of their redemption, and his blood of their ransom; and if they be so young that they cannot go, he carries them in his arms; and when they can feel nothing stirring after him, his bowels yearn after them; so tender is this good Shepherd after all his flock. I can tell, for I was as one that once went astray, and wandered upon the barren mountains; and when I had wearied myself with wandering, I went into the wilderness, and there I was torn as with briars, and pricked as with thorns; sometimes thinking this was the way, and sometimes concluding that was the way, and by and by concluding *all was out of the way.* And then bitter mourning came upon me, and weeping for want

of the interpreter ; for when I sought to know what was the matter, and where I was, it was too hard for me ; then I thought I would venture on some way where it was most likely to find a lost God ; and I would pray with them that prayed, and fast with them that fasted, and mourn with them that mourned, if by any means I might come to rest, but found it not, until I came to see the candle lighted in my own house, and my heart swept from those thoughts and imaginations, and willings, and runnings ; and to die unto them all, not heeding of them ; but watching against them, lest I should let my mind go a whoring after them ; and here I dwelt for a time, as in a desolate land uninhabited ; where I sat alone as a sparrow upon the house top, and was hunted up and down like a partridge upon the mountains ; and could rest no where, but some lust or thought or other followed me at the heels, and disquieted me night and day, until I came to know him in whom was rest, and no occasion of stumbling, in whom the devil hath no part ; and he became unto me as a hiding place from the storms, and from the tempests : then came my eyes to see my Saviour, and my sorrow to fly away, and he became made unto me all in all, *my wisdom, my righteousness, and my sanctification, in whom I was and am complete, to the praise of the riches of his grace and goodness*

that endures for ever. Therefore be not discouraged, O thou tossed as with tempests, nor dismayed in thyself, because thou seest such mighty hosts of enemies rising up against thee, and besetting thee on every side; for none was so beset, and tried, and tempted as the true seed was, who was a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief: but be thou still in thy mind, and let the billows pass over, and wave upon wave, and fret not thyself because of them, neither be cast down, as if it should never be otherwise with thee: sorrow comes at night, but joy in the morning, and the days of thy mourning shall be over, and the accuser will God cast out for ever; for therefore I was afflicted, and not comforted, and tempted and tried for this end, that I might know how to speak a word in due season unto those who are tempted and afflicted as I once was; as it was said unto me in that day when sorrow lay heavy upon me. Therefore be not disconsolated, neither give heed unto the reasonings and disputings of thy own heart, nor the fears that rise therefrom; but be strong in the faith, believing in the light which lets thee see them; and his grace thou wilt know to be sufficient for thee, and his strength to be made perfect in thy weakness; and so wilt thou rather glory in thy infirmities, *that his power may rest upon thee, than in thy earnest desires to be rid of them; for by these*

things thou wilt come to live in the life of God, and joy in God, and glory in tribulation; when thou hast learned in all conditions to be contented, and through trials and deep exercises is the way to learn this lesson. These things, in dear love to thee, I have written, being somewhat sensible of thy condition, and the many snares thou art daily liable unto; therefore watch that thou fall not into temptation, and my God and Father keep thee in the arms of eternal love, over all, unto the end, unto his praise. Amen.

“John Crook.”

This John Crook had been a man of note in the world, not only because he had been a justice of peace, as hath been said in due place, but also because he was a man of good intellects; and yet his zeal for what he believed to be truth, was such, that he became willing to bear the reproach of the world, that so he might enjoy peace with God. But though he was a man of learning, yet most the first preachers of the doctrine held forth by those called Quakers, were people of small account in the world; but yet they were so powerful in their preaching, that many thereby were turned to true godliness.

Some have been reached by the sayings of dying penitents; for there have been remarka-

ble instances of young people sprung from honest parents, who having walked in the broad way, did very earnestly bewail their out goings on a dying bed, and then declared that if it pleased God to raise them up again, they would not, as before, be ashamed of the despised way of the Quakers, nor fear any mockings or persecution, but that they would serve the Lord in uprightness, and with all their heart. These thus repenting with tears for their transgressions, have experienced after great agonies, that God wills not the death of sinners, but that they should repent, and so live in everlasting happiness.

Of several such like cases, I will only mention one, viz. that of a young maid at London, called Susanna Whitrow, whose mother was of the society of the Quakers, but not her father. On her dying bed she complained exceedingly of her rebellion and vain behaviour: "Ah," said she to her mother, "how often hast thou said, the Lord would plead with us: now the day is come. Pride and disobedience were my cursed fruits, which I brought forth when I was a hearer in the public church. How often have I adorned myself as fine in their fashion as I could make me; yet they despised my dress, and said, '*How like a taudry have you dressed yourself, you are not at all in the mode.*'" Then coming home on the Sabbath day, I went imme-

diately up into my chamber, and locking the door, I altered all my laces, and so I went to their worship in the afternoon, dressed in their mode, and then I pleased them. At another time she said, "O that I might have a little time longer to go into the country, and walk in the woods to seek the Lord. O what matter for fine houses and silk apparel: O remember him that sat on the ground, and wore a garment without a seam, our blessed holy Lord, who went up to the mountains to pray, and withdrew himself into gardens and desolate places. I have done nothing for the Lord, but he hath done all for me: therefore I desire to live, that I might live an holy and righteous life that my conversation might be in heaven, though my body be here on earth. How would I then invite and warn others, not to spend their precious time in adorning themselves like Jezebel, patching and painting, and curling their hair. O the Christian life is quite another thing; we must not give ourselves the liberty to think our own thoughts, much less to act such abominations." Several days she was in a strong wrestling and conflict of spirit, and in fervent prayer to God, so that when somebody *was for removing her head a little, she refusing it, said, "I would not suffer a thought to wander; if I move, I shall be drawn off my watch, and then the tempter will prevail." Continuing*

in this conflict, she conceived at length hopes of forgiveness ; and being thus strengthened by mercy, she said to the Lord, " O what can my soul say of thy power : when I sought thee, but could not find thee ; I knocked hard, but none did open ; for my sins stood like mountains, that I could not come near thee : I would fain have prayed to thee, but could not. Thus I lay several days and nights struggling for life, but could find none ; and I said, " ' There is no mercy for me : ' " then I said, " I will never leave thee ; if I perish, I will perish here ; I will never cease crying unto thee. " And then I heard a voice say, " Jacob wrestled all night before he obtained the blessing. " Oh then thy word, O Lord, was strong to my soul : then my stony heart was broken to pieces, and the spirit of prayer and supplication was poured upon me. And now I can sing as David did, of mercy, and of judgment : " Unto thee, O Lord, will I sing, with a rent heart, and with my mouth in the dust will I sing praises to thee, my blessed Saviour. " In this frame she endeavoured to continue, and once she prayed for her father, called Robert Whitrow, part of which prayer was as followeth : " O Lord remember not his offences, let me bear them ; let it be easy to him : make his friends to be enemies to him, *that thou mayest have mercy upon him. His temptations are great, Lord, carry him through ;*



O let him not perish with the world ; do thou support him over this world. Shall a little dirt of this world draw away his mind : O Lord, let his mind be set on things above ; fix his mind upon thee." Thus fervently this young maid prayed for her father, herself now having attained to a full assurance of her salvation, so that she once said to the Lord, " O thou beloved of my soul, what shall I say of thee, for thou art too wonderful for me : O praises be unto thee." And afterwards perceiving that her end was approaching, she said to her mother, " I must lay down this body, the Lord will not trust me longer in this present wicked world : happy am I : my Saviour, my soul loves thee dearly ; thy love is better than wine : my Saviour, my holy One, how glorious art thou ; I have seen thy glory : I am overcome with thy sweet countenance ; O how lovely art thou ! My heart is ravished with the sweet smiles of thy glorious countenance. " O, come away, come away, why dost thou stay ? I am ready, I am ready." Then she lay sometime very still, and so departed this life without sigh or groan : which was about the year 1677.

Such like dying persons have been the means sometimes to stir up others to true godliness, whereby they came to be joined with the people called Quakers ; and though these in time came to be very numerous, yet at first there were but

few labourers in the ministry of the word. But these recommending one another to give diligent heed to the word of God in the heart, and mind that, as their teachers did often meet together and keep assemblies, sitting down with such a deep retiredness of mind, being turned inward to God, that tears trickled down their cheeks, to the astonishment of many that looked upon them, some of whom only by beholding this serious retiredness, came to be so effectually reached, that they also joined with them, and frequented their meetings. In the meanwhile many of these became more and more confirmed in their minds by this silent exercise, and their understandings came to be so opened, that in process of time they became apt and fit instruments to exhort others to godliness: and among these several women also found it their duty to preach the gospel.

There have been many who were very averse to the Quakers, and yet came to join with them in the faith; as among others, Christopher Bacon in Somersetshire, who about the year 1656, coming into a meeting, not with intention to be edified there, but rather to scoff, and to fetch his wife from thence, who went thither against his mind, was so reached by the lively exhortation he heard, that he was not only convinced of the truth preached there, but in time became a zealous preacher of it himself, and

was valiant in sufferings. Once being taken up at a meeting at Glastonbury, and brought before bishop Mew, at Wells, who called him a rebel, for meeting contrary to the king's laws, Christopher having formerly been a soldier for the king, said to him, "Dost thou call me a rebel? I would have thee to know, that I have ventured my life for the king in the field, when such as thou lay behind hedges." By this he stopped the bishop's mouth, who did not expect such an answer, and therefore was willing to be rid of him.

The like instance of an unexpected conversion, was seen also in William Gibson, whom I knew well, and who at the time of the civil wars, being a soldier at Carlisle, he and three others having heard that a Quaker's meeting was appointed in that city, they agreed to go thither and abuse the preacher, whose name was Thomas Holmes: but Gibson hearing him powerfully declare the truth, was so affected by his testimony, that he stepped in near him, to defend him, if any should have offered to abuse him: and he himself afterwards came to be a zealous preacher of that truth he had been at unawares convinced of.

To these instances I may add that of a certain trumpeter, who coming into a Quakers meeting began in an insolent manner to sound his trumpet, thereby to drown the voice of him that

preached: but this had a contrary effect, and stirred up the zeal of the preacher the more, so that he went on as if none disturbed him. The trumpeter at length to recover his breath, was fain to cease blowing; but being still governed by an evil spirit, after some intermission began to sound again; but whatever he did, he was not able to divert the preacher from his discourse, though he hindered the auditory from hearing what was spoken. Thus he wearied himself so much, that he was forced to rest again for respiration; whereby in spite of his evil will, he came to hear what the preacher spoke, which was so piercing, that the trumpeter came to be deeply affected with it, and bursting out into tears, confessed his crime, and came to be a true penitent; a remarkable evidence of the truth of that saying of the apostle, "So then it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy."

Among these, who contrary to their intent entered into communion with the Quakers, so called, may be reckoned also Anthony Pearson, the justice, of whom in this history it hath been mentioned, that he was so reached by G. Fox, at Swarthmore, that he came to be one of his followers; which though true, yet it was before that time that he was in some respect *convinced of the doctrine maintained by the people called Quakers; which happened to be*

by James Naylor, who upon an indictment of blasphemy, appearing at the sessions at Appleby, in the month called January, 1652, found the said justice Pearson sitting there on the bench, as one of his persecutors; who asking him several questions received such pertinent answers from J. Naylor, that in a great degree he was convinced of the truth held by J. Naylor, and his friends.

By what hath been related here may be seen how unexpectedly some entered into society with the Quakers, so called; more instances of which might be produced if needful; since I have known such, who being naturally of a boisterous temper, yet were so struck with the terror of the Lord, that they came to be of such a quiet spirit, and harmless behaviour, that as formerly they could not suffer the least provocation, so now they bore all revilings and mockings with an even and undisturbed mind: because the fear of God had made such deep impression upon them, that they were careful lest by an angry or impetuous deportment they should sin against him. And thus continuing to live in fear, and a reverential awe, they improved in true godliness; insomuch that by their pious lives, they preached as well as others with words. After this manner the number of their society increased: but then grievous sufferings ensued; for the priests could not endure to see

that their hearers left them ; the furious mob was spurred on, and among the magistrates there were many, who being of a fierce temper, used all their strength to root out the professors of the light, (as they were called at first) and to suppress and stifle their doctrine ; but all proved in vain, as appears abundantly from their history ; although there were hardly any prisons in England, where some of these people were not shut up ; besides the spoil of goods, and cruel whippings that befel some of them. Yet all this they bore with a more than ordinary courage, without making resistance, how great soever their number was ; and notwithstanding many of them had been valiant soldiers, who often had slain their enemies in the field, without regarding danger.

In the consideration of this undaunted steadfastness, it hath seemed to me, that there have been some such among this people, whose talent was valiantly to endure persecution for a good cause ; and who perhaps in ease would not have been such good Christians as they proved to be under sufferings ; resembling the camomile in this, which the more it is depressed or rubbed, the better it grows, and yields the stronger scent. Being then thus oppressed, they found themselves under the necessity of continuing *vigilant and watchful* ; and, according to king

Solomon's advice, to keep their hearts with all diligence. This made them love what they judged to be truth, more than their lives, and it caused them to be careful; lest that should come over them, which the church of Ephesus was threatened with, because she had left her first love, viz. the removing of her candlestick out of its place. Thus their mutual love increased, and their own lives they valued not, when the grieving of their consciences stood in competition with it.

Having thus passed through many adversities, with an unwearied and lasting patience, and being become a great people, known by the name of Quakers, they were at length by the generous clemency of king William III. and the favour of the Parliament, declared to be a society, who should henceforth be tolerated in the kingdom as Protestant Dissenters, with liberty to perform their religious worship in public without disturbance.

**THE**  
**HISTORY**  
**OF THE**  
**RISE AND PROGRESS**  
**OF THE**  
**SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.**

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**THE TWELFTH BOOK,**

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**QUEEN Anne** having now ascended the throne, and taken in hands the reins of government, was congratulated from all quarters; and the people called Quakers thought themselves no less obliged than others to condole the king's death, and to testify their affection and fidelity to the Queen; and therefore they drew up an address; and when some of them, of whom G. Whitehead was one, went to present it (which was on the 11th of the 2d month, April) they were introduced by the then earl, but now duke of Marlborough, and the duke of Ormond. *The address was as followeth.*



To Queen Anne over England. &c.

“ May it please the Queen,

“ We thy peaceable subjects, cannot but be sorrowfully affected with a deep sense of the loss sustained by the death of our late king William the III. whom God made the instrument of much good to these nations; a prince who indeed desired to be the common father of his people, and as such did by his great example, as well as precept, endeavour to unite them in interest and affection, and promoted and confirmed a legal liberty to tender consciences, by all which his reign was adorned, to the renown of his memory.

“ And it having pleased the all wise God, the disposer of kingdoms, to preserve thee to succeed to the government of these nations; and thereby to the maintaining and consummating those great works so happily begun; we humbly beg leave to congratulate thy free and peaceable accession to the throne, from whence we observe the queen's excellent declaration, manifesting her care for the good of all her people and therefore doubt not but we her Protestant dissenting subjects shall partake of her royal favour and protection.

“ We sincerely declare, that with the assistance of the grace of God, we will always, according to our Christian duty, demonstrate our

good affection, truth and fidelity to the queen and her government; and heartily pray that his wisdom may direct, and his blessing be upon the queen and her great council, to the suppressing of vice and immorality, and the promoting of piety, peace, and charity, to the glory of God, and the benefit of these nations.

“May the King of kings make thy reign long and glorious, to which temporal blessing we shall pray for thy eternal happiness.”

Signed on behalf and by the appointment of the aforesaid people, at a meeting in London, the tenth of the second month, 1702.

This address was very favourably received by the queen, and after it was read to her, she answered.

“I thank you for your address, and I assure you of my protection.”

It was scarce a month after, when war was proclaimed in England against France, which had been proclaimed in Holland also against that crown some days before. Not long after followed the general yearly meeting of those called Quakers, held in London, in which it was *thought fit to thank the queen for her declaration that she would maintain the act of toleration*

in favour of the dissenters; and therefore an address was drawn up by the said assembly, which was as followeth:

To Queen ANNE over England, &c.

The humble and thankful acknowledgment of the people commonly called Quakers, from their yearly meeting in London, the 30th day of the 3d month called May, 1702.

“May it please the queen,

“We, thy peaceable and dutiful subjects, met from most parts of thy dominions at our usual yearly meeting (for the promotion of piety and charity) being deeply affected with thy free and noble resolution in thy late speech at the prorogation of the parliament, to preserve and maintain the act of toleration for the ease and quiet of all thy people, could not but in gratitude esteem ourselves engaged both to thank Almighty God for that favourable influence, and to renew and render our humble and hearty acknowledgments to the queen for the same, assuring her (on behalf of all our friends) of our sincere affection and Christian obedience.

And we beseech God, the fountain of wisdom and goodness, so to direct all thy counsels and undertakings, that righteousness, which exalts a nation, and mercy and justice, that establish

a throne, may be the character of thy reign, and the blessings of these kingdoms under it.”

Signed by the appointment and on the behalf of the said meeting.

Of those who presented this address, William Penn was the deliverer, and the queen was pleased to speak to him in a very kind manner, and not only received the said address favourably, but after it was read to her she made the following most gracious answer.

“ Mr. Penn, I am so well pleased that what I have said is to your satisfaction, that you and your friends may be assured of my protection.”\*

This year died Margaret, the widow of G. Fox, at about eighty seven years of age, as appears to me from an account of her son in law, Dr. Thomas Lower in which I find that she was born at Marsh Grange, in the parish of Dalton in Lancashire. Her father was John Askew, a gentle man of an ancient family, a man of a good estate, and famous for his piety and charity. His daughter Margaret was religious even in her young years, and was married, before she

\*This, from the Record, appears to be rather the substance than the exact words of the answer.

had attained the age of eighteen, to Thomas Fell of Swarthmore; who being bred a lawyer, became a justice of peace, and having afterwards been a member in several parliaments, was made a vice-chancellor of the county of Lancaster, and in process of time a judge, being beloved because of his justice, wisdom, moderation, and mercy.

In the year 1652, George Fox coming the first time to his house, when he himself was from home, did by his exhortations so reach to the family, that a priest with some gentlemen went and told judge Fell, that a great disaster had befallen his wife and family, they being seduced and turned Quakers. This was so odiously represented to him, that it troubled him not a little: but being come home, and received very kindly by his wife, according to her usual manner, he soon perceived that it had been intended to make him believe untruths, and possess him with prejudice. Not long after George Fox got opportunity to speak to him, which gave him such satisfaction, that he owned that which was spoken to be truth; and his wife ordered a dinner to be made ready for her friend G. Fox, and those that were with him. *And some time after he told his wife, when he heard that she and her friends were consulting where to have a meeting, that they might meet in his hall; which they did; and though he*

himself did not come there, yet when a meeting was kept, he used to sit in a chair so near to it, that though he could not be seen of every body, yet he could hear what was preached ; which he liked so well, that it is not known, that after he had heard George Fox, he ever frequented the public church : insomuch, that though he entered not into full society with the Quakers, yet he favoured them, and several times stopt the malice of their persecutors, when it was in his power so to do.

After he had been married six and twenty years to Margaret, and had had nine children by her, he deceased in the year 1658, leaving behind him a son and seven daughters.

Margaret, being thus become a widow, neglected no opportunity to serve her friends. In the year 1660, when king Charles II. was restored, (scarce two weeks after he came in) she went to London, and spoke several times with that prince, that he would cause the sufferings of her friends to cease ; and in order thereto she wrote, not only to him, but also to the dukes of York and Gloucester, the queen mother, the princess of Orange, and the queen of Bohemia. And after having been about fifteen months in London, she at length prevailed with the king, that her friends who were in prison, were released by proclamation. But persecution afterwards beginning again, she went to speak with th

king and the duke of York, at Hampton Court. In the year 1664, for refusing to swear, she was confined in Lancaster Castle, and kept long in durance; for (because of her great service in the church) she was much envied as well as George Fox, to whom she was married about eleven years after the decease of her first husband judge Fell. But not long after, she was again imprisoned, and continued a year in jail, being most part of that time sickly; and afterwards was several times fined for preaching. In the seventieth year of her age she spoke again with the king, which was the last time; but she was not received so favourably as formerly, for he seemed to be somewhat angry: and therefore she wrote to him, and staid in London in hopes of an answer; but he was suddenly taken away by death. Afterwards she spoke with king James, and wrote to him also. And at length, after a laborious and godly life, she piously departed from hence in a great age, as hath been said already, having uttered in the time of her sickness many excellent sayings, by which it appeared that she was prepared for death, and longed to be dissolved. She had been a zealous preacher, and also written much, and among the rest a book entitled, "The Call of the Jews out of Babylon," which she dedicated to the famous Manasseh Ben Israel, and charged him, as he would answer it before God,

to cause it to be read among his brethren. This book being translated by William Ames, into Dutch, was also printed in that language, whilst her first husband lived.

The same year she died, George Keith, who now preached up and down where the bishops thought fit, went by their order to New England, New York, Pennsylvania, &c. for it seems he imagined that in those parts he should get many adherents among the Quakers: but he came much short of his aim; for even in Pennsylvania, where many of the Baptists formerly sided with him, he was by them looked upon with disdain, and rejected for wearing a clergyman's gown; and now appearing to be a great apostate, there was no likelihood for him to get entrance, or to be esteemed there. After some time being returned into England, he got a living in the parish of Edburton, in Sussex, worth about £120. a year. Now though the Episcopalians seemed to be in great expectation that Keith should suppress the doctrine of the Quakers, yet all his endeavours proved in vain; for whatever some may think, it is certain, and appears from this history, that they are become a great people after a very singular manner, and that all projects and attempts to root them out, have been quashed, and come to nought: and from this consideration it was, as I have reason to think, that many of the Quakers, so called,



in their preaching did sound forth these words, being as it were extorted from Balaam: "There is no enchantment against Jacob, nor divination against Israel;" as I myself have often heard. And now the strength and power of their violent opposers was broken by the favour of king William the III. and his successor queen Anne, hath favourably confirmed the liberty of conscience and worship, granted by an act of parliament to the Quakers. So that now we may look upon them as a free people, and a society tolerated by supreme authority; and therefore I might now finish this history, as to the import of the title.

But before I conclude, I intend to say something concerning their doctrine, of which mention hath been often made in this work, viz. That their chief principle, in which they differ from the generality of modern Christian societies, is, That every man is enlightened with the Divine Light, according to the evangelist John, who in the first chapter, speaking of Christ, as he was from eternity with the Father, calls him the Word, and saith, "That the Word was God, that all things were made by him, that in him was life, and the life was the light of men." And the evangelist, speaking concerning John the Baptist, who was sent from God, saith, "He was not that light, but was sent to bear witness of that light. That was the true light

which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." By this it appears, that the Quakers have not coined a new phrase, but only made use of the express words of the Holy Scripture. I am not unacquainted that, during the great apostacy, people generally have not clearly understood this; yet it ought not to seem strange, because the evangelist saith, "The light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not." But to elucidate this doctrine a little more, it may serve for information, that the Quakers believe this light to be the same that the apostle Paul calls "The grace of God that bringeth salvation, and hath appeared to all men;" and concerning its operation, he saith, "teaching us, that denying ungodliness, and wordly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world."

Thus much briefly, concerning the above mentioned denominations of this divine light; and to make it appear more plainly what this phrase means, "Take heed to the Light; thereby we understand, that each one minding the counsel of the light in their souls, may learn to fear God, and hate pride, arrogancy, and every evil way; which will beget in us such a reverential awe towards God, that we dare not do any thing which we certainly know, will displease him; and this is the first step to godliness: and therefore both David and Solomon have said,

that the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom ; viz. that fear which is filial and accompanied with circumspection and cautiousness ; and as we persevere in this fear, we are enabled to serve the Lord in holiness and righteousness all the days of our life.

But since we can do this only by the grace of God, it is absolutely necessary that we take heed thereto ; and therefore we ought to pray to God continually for his assistance. But here starts up something, of which people generally have a wrong notion : for all sorts of Christians agree, that we must often pray to God, but in the manner of it many err greatly. For some think they perform this duty of praying to God, when in the mornings and evenings, and at other certain times of the day, they repeat or recite some forms of prayer, and do not seem to consider, that men ought always to pray, and not to faint. And the apostle Paul exhorts to pray without ceasing. And what this means he himself explains in these words, “ Praying always with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit,” which plainly shews, that it consists not in a continual repeating of prayers, but in pious and devout breathings to God, raised in the soul by the spirit of Christ, that *it may please him to keep us continually in his fear and counsel, since we are in want of daily support from him.* And thus praying in faith.

we receive an answer to our breathings in some measure, though not always so soon as we desire: but we must not faint; and our prayer must be from a sincere believing and breathing of the heart; otherwise we pray amiss, and do not receive: according to the saying of the apostle James, "Ye ask, and receive not, because ye ask amiss." But what devices and wiles have not been invented by the enemy of man's soul, to keep him off from this continual state of prayer! although Christ very expressly saith, "Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation. And, what I say unto you, I say unto all, Watch." Which in regard to the instruction we may reap thence, doth not imply a continual watching without sleeping, but a vigilancy of the mind, which Solomon recommends in these words, "Keep thy heart with all diligence." Now though our constitution doth not seem to admit an incessant continuance in the deepest retiredness of mind; yet this is certain, that the more fervently we turn our minds to God, the more we are kept from evil. And man persevering in this godly exercise, is the less in danger of falling into spiritual pride; since he finds that his preservation is in true humility, and in a continual dependance upon God: for if he once departs *from thence*, and thinks himself safe enough, *and that now he needs not to walk circumspect-*

ly in fear as he once did, then he is caught already, and somewhat gone astray from his spiritual guide: to wit, from that which shewed unto him his transgressions, and troubled him whilst he was in the evil way. And this is the manifestation of the spirit, which the apostle saith, is given to every man to profit withal.

Now to call this principle which reproveth men for evil, and constantly discovers it, Light, doth not carry with it any absurdity; especially if we consider that this denomination is found in sacred writ. Evil deeds are called by the apostle the works of darkness; and saith he, "All things that are reprov'd, are made manifest by the light: for whatsoever doth make manifest, is light." By which it appears plainly that the Quakers have not coined a new phrase, but only followed the Scripture language. And that they are not the only people that have declared of the light, might be proved from other authors of good esteem, if necessity required.

As to oaths, they judge the taking of an oath unlawful; and why, may abundantly be seen in this history from a multitude of instances.

The making of war they also believe to be *inconsistent* with pure Christianity, and esteem *that its followers* being led by its precepts, will *come to beat their swords into plough shares,*

and their spears into pruning hooks, and not to learn war any more. According to the prediction of the prophet Isaiah ii. 4. and Christ, the Author of our faith, unto whom we are commanded to look, saith expressly, "My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight;" and the apostle James iv. giveth us to understand that wars and fightings come of lusts. And we believe that by receiving the spirit of Christ in our souls, and being entirely guided by it, enmity and lusts (the root of wars and fightings) come to be destroyed, and his love remains, by which we not only love one another sincerely, but also can love our enemies, and pray for them; as also for those who hate and persecute us for his name, not rendering evil for evil, but good for evil; and this we believe to be that lamb-like spirit which will prevail, and must overcome. And therefore they judge it not lawful for them to make war, and for all that they think that they may very safely be tolerated by the civil government: not only because they are willing and ready to pay taxes to Cæsar, but also that since they cannot fight for the government, neither can they fight against it.

Concerning the sword of magistracy, they do *not* *wise* assert, that it is unlawful for some *Christians* to be magistrates: for to say so

it doth it imply, but the unchristianing of ministers, whom they truly honour: magic being the ordinance of God. But although we believe this office to be consistent with Christian religion, yet they think it more safe themselves not to seek for it.

Withes to the priests they do not look upon a gospel maintenance; since our Saviour in express terms to his disciples, "Freely have received, freely give;" yet they do not stretch this so far, as not to suffer that any who have imparted of his spiritual gifts to others, should not receive temporal gifts of them, if he himself was in want thereof, provided the maintenance of a minister of the gospel be free, and not forced: and also that it consists not in a fixed stipend, which leads to turn the ministry of the gospel into a provision for a livelihood; which they look upon to be far beneath the dignity of the ministerial office, which ought to be performed purely out of love to God and our neighbour, and not with any regard to secular gain.

The ordinary way of shewing respect or honour in common conversation is also without any scruple: for to give the same outward sign of respect to men, which is given, to God, *the uncovering of the head*, they think *without good reason*) to be unfit; and *esteem* also the giving flattering titles o

honour ; since Christ so sharply reproves the greetings in the markets, and the being called of men Rabbi, Rabbi, saying, " Be not ye called Rabbi ; which title of that time may be equalled with the modern master or sir. Thus Christ saith also, " How can ye believe, who receive honour one of another ? " Yet they limit this only to common conversation with ones equals : for a servant may call his master by that title, and subjects their magistrates by the title of their office, and this may be spoken not contrary to truth ; whereas the other is nothing but mere flattery, invented to gratify and cherish pride ; and therefore they think it inconsistent with the true gravity of a Christian to call oneself a servant of one who has not any mastership over us ; and they believe we cannot be too cautious in speaking, since our Saviour saith, " That every idle word that men should speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment. " The common fashion of greeting they also decline, thinking it more safe not to imitate the ordinary custom therein. But that it is more agreeable with Christian simplicity to greet one another by giving their hand, or by other innocent and harmless notice in passing by, which are signs of friendship and respect, that may be shewed, without giving to man *that which appertains to God*, as the uncovering of the head is an outward sign of the worship



and honour that is paid to God : and if we give the same token also to men, it may be queried, wherein the difference consists? If it be answered that it consisteth in the meaning and intention, then use is made of the same argument, whereby Papists endeavour to excuse their adoration of images and relicks.

As the Quakers testify against the common vain way of salutation, so likewise against gaming, interludes, jesting, and all sinful and unprofitable recreations, and drinking of healths all which they believe to be contrary to the exhortation of the apostle, "Whether ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God."

In their method of marriage, they also depart from the common way : for in the Old Testament they find not that the joining of a couple in marriage ever was the office of a priest, nor in the gospel, any preacher among Christians appointed thereto. Therefore it is their custom, that when any intend to enter into marriage, they first having the consent of parents or guardians, acquaint the respective mens and womens meetings of their intention, and after due inquiry, all things appearing clear, they in a public meeting solemnly take each other in marriage, with a promise of love and fidelity, and not to leave one another before death separates them. Of this a certificate is drawn,

mentioning the names and distinctions of the persons thus joined, which being first signed by themselves, those then that are present sign as witnesses.

In the burying of their dead they mind decency, and endeavour to avoid all pomp; and the wearing of mourning is not approved among them; for they think that the mourning which is lawful, may be shewed sufficiently to the world by a modest and grave deportment.

As to water-baptism, and the outward supper, though they do not use the external signs, (witnessing Christ the substance to be come) yet they are not for judging others who do use them conscientiously and devoutly. They do not deny that water-baptism was used by some in the primitive church; but let it be considered unto whom it was administered, viz. to such that came over either from the Jews or the Gentiles, to the Christian society: and baptism was as well a judaical ceremony as circumcision; for, according to the account of Maimonides \*, a Gentile, who would be received into the covenant of the Jews, must be baptized as well as circumcised, whereby he became a proselyte. Whence it evidently appears that baptism did not come in the place of circumcision, as it hath

\* *Vid. John Leusden Philolog. Hebræo-mixt, Dissertat. xxi. de Proselyt. Sect. 1. pag. mihi 144.*

been often urged to persuade the ignorant. But as a Jewess proselyte needed not to get the child she brought forth baptized, since the Jews did not baptize their children, but administered baptism only to such of the Gentiles that came over to them; so we do not find the least evidence that the primitive Christians in the time of the apostles, did baptize their issue, that so they might claim to be members of the church; but the contrary seems rather to appear from what the apostle saith, "The unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified, by the husband; else were your children unclean, but now they are holy: Which implieth no more, but that such children, whose father or mother alone was a believer, were not excluded from, but comprehended in the outward membership: for this cannot have any relation to that sanctification, whereby the mind comes to be cleansed: but in regard of being partaker of the outward fellowship, this reached so far, that if but one of the parents, either father or mother, was a believer, the child thereby became entitled to the outward society: for to make one a true and real member of the church of God, the *baptism of the spirit* was required, as the main *thing*; which made John the baptist, speaking of Christ, say, "He shall baptize you with the *Holy Ghost*." And the apostle Peter signifieth,

that baptism, which now saves us, is not the putting away of the filth of the flesh but the answer of a good conscience towards God. This was that baptism of which God by the prophet Ezekiel said concerning Israel, "I will take you from among the heathen, and gather you out of all countries. Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you; and ye shall be clean from all your filthiness," &c.

It is a common objection, that Christ himself was baptized with water, and that we are required to follow his footsteps: but let it be considered that he was circumcised also, though the one as well as the other needed not to his melioration, but was done for our sake, to shew us by the latter, that our hearts must be circumcised, that is, separated from all evil inclinations and lusts. And by the baptism which he suffered to be administered to him, is signified to us that we must be baptized by his spiritual baptism. And if it be objected, that Christ said to Nicodemus, "Except a man be born of water and of the spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." It may be answered, that if this must be understood of outward water, the consequence will be, that water baptism is of such an absolute necessity, that if any be deprived of it, he is to be shut out of heaven, *which, though believed by Papists, yet I think Protestants will hardly say so; neither wa*

John Calvin\* of that opinion. It is also worth taking notice, that John the baptist said, "That Christ should baptize with fire;" by which it appears, that both water and fire in this sense, are metaphorical expressions; for they both serve for cleansing and purifying, though in a different way. Now although some did baptize with water, yet it ought to be considered, that if the command of Christ to his disciples, "Go ye and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," related absolutely to water baptism, it would indeed have been very strange, that Paul, that eminent apostle of the Gentiles, did not think himself commissioned for the administration of that baptism. Whereas, if the apostles had really received a commission from the Lord to that purpose, he by no means would have been singled out; since speaking of himself he saith, That he supposed he was not a whit behind the very chiefest apostles; and yet he also saith in express terms, "Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel. And I thank God that I baptized none of you but Crispus and Gaius. And I baptized also the household of Stephanas: besides, I know *not* whether I baptized any other." And yet *he saith*, "There is one Lord, one faith, one

\* Vid. Calvin, Epist. 184, & 229.

baptism," which was the baptism of the Spirit. And the same apostle saith also, "As many as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ:" and this cannot have relation to water baptism, because many receive that, who never put on Christ, and become conformable to his image, which however is required of all Christians. To this may be added, that if the command to baptize, Mat. xxviii. 19, were literally restricted to water baptism, then why may not our Saviour's words be as well understood literally concerning the washing of his disciples feet, when he said to Peter, "If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with me;" and to his disciples, "If I then your Lord and Master have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one anothers feet." More might be said on this subject; but since R. Barclay hath treated of this matter at large long ago, the reader may apply to his Apology for the true Christian divinity.

Concerning the outward supper, it may be truly said, that it was the passover that was kept by Christ at the eating of the paschal lamb; which likewise was a judaical ceremony, that Christians generally take to be a figure or shadow. But is not the modern use of the outward Supper in remembrance of Christ's sufferings, also a figure, viz. of his spiritual Supper with the soul; and doth it not seem

absurd, that one figure should be the antitype of the other. The passover was not a memorial of another sign that was to follow ; but it was a memorial of the slaying of all the first-born in Egypt, and of the preservation of Israel and their first-born. Moreover it may be said, that the paschal lamb was eaten in their families, whereas the outward Supper now is celebrated in public places for worship. We find, that the apostles " Breaking bread from house to house, did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart ;" which implies an usual meal or eating. And certainly they do well, who daily at meals remember Christ and his sufferings : for the spiritual supper, which is the thing required, ought to be partaken of by every true Christian ; and this cannot be, unless we being attentive, open the door of our hearts to Christ, and let him come in. Let it also be considered, that the soul wants daily food as well as the body ; and being destitute of that, will faint and languish, and so become unable to do good ; and therefore our Lord recommended his disciples to pray for daily bread ; for that this chiefly had relation to the spiritual manna, the bread that comes down from heaven, appears from this saying of Christ, " Labour not for the meat which perisheth, but for that meat which endureth unto everlasting life." Besides, the apostle tells us, " That the kingdom of God

is not meat and drink, but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." And the author to the Hebrews saith, "It is a good thing that the heart be established with grace, not with meats, which have not profited them that have been occupied therein."

All this then being duly considered by those called Quakers, it hath restrained them from the use of those ceremonies. For the man who through grace is become truly spiritual hath no need of ceremonies or outward means to depend upon, but finds himself excited to rely on the inward divine grace, and to depend upon God alone, walking continually in reverential watchfulness before him, and so keeping to the immediate teachings of Christ in his heart, he approaches with boldness to the throne of grace, and with a full assurance of faith, becomes a partaker of salvation.

But I leave this matter, to say something also concerning the Quakers way of worship. It is usual among them, when they meet together in their religious assemblies, to spend some time in a devout silence and retiredness of mind, inwardly praying with pure breathings to God, which they generally call, waiting upon the Lord : and if under this spiritual exercise any one feels himself stirred up of God to speak *something by way of doctrine or exhortation, he doth so, and sometimes more than one, but*



orderly, one after another. And that this was usual in the primitive apostolical church, appears from what Paul saith, "If any thing be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace: for ye may all prophesy one by one." And what prophesying signifieth under the new covenant, the apostle himself explains with these words, "He that prophesieth, edifieth the church." Yet let none think this liberty of speaking to be so unlimited, that every body that can say something may freely do so in the congregation: for he that will speak there, must also by all means be of a good, and honest, and holy life, and sound in doctrine; and if in process of time he finds in himself a concern from the Lord to travel in the ministry, and desires a certificate of his soundness in doctrine and orderly life, he may have it from the congregation where he resides. And certainly a preacher himself ought to have experience of the work of sanctification, before he is qualified to instruct others in the way thereto: for mere brain knowledge cannot do that effectually. Sometimes in their meetings there is a public prayer before preaching; and preaching is generally concluded with a prayer.

Now preaching among them is not confined to the male sex, as among others: for they believe that women whom the Lord hath gifted

for gospel ministry, may exercise their gifts among them to edification: for who will presume to say to him, What dost thou? To him namely, who by his apostle hath said, "Quench not the Spirit." They are not ignorant that the same apostle said to the Corinthians, "Let your women keep silence in the churches." Now not to insist on the word your, which seems to carry an emphasis along with it, as being chiefly applicable to those Corinthian women, yet by what follows it appears plainly, that it regards ignorant women, since it is said there, "If they will learn any thing, that is, if they will be farther instructed concerning some points of doctrine, "Let them ask their husbands at home." Whereby it appears that this saying hath relation to such women, who either from indiscretion or curiosity or out of a desire to be looked upon as such that knew also to say something, proposed questions to the church, and thereby caused more confusion than edification: "For it is indeed a shame for [such] women to speak in the church;" and the apostle's precept is, "Let all things be done decently and in order." Moreover, it ought to be considered also, that these words, "Let your women keep silence," have a tendency also to the subjection which women owe to their husbands, because it is said there also, that women are commanded "to be under obedience." Thi

the apostle explains farther in one of his epistles to Timothy, where he saith, "Let the woman learn in silence with all subjection: but I suffer not a woman to teach nor to usurp authority over the man." Now that the apostle doth not absolutely forbid women speaking to edification in the church, appears from his own words, when he saith, "Every woman that prayeth or prophesieth with her head uncovered, dishonoureth her head:" for here he gives to women a prescript how to behave themselves when they prophesy; and what he means by prophesying, he himself declareth in the same epistle, as hath been hinted already, where he saith, "He that prophesieth speaketh unto men to edification, and exhortation, and comfort; and he that prophesieth edifieth the church." And pray what is this but that which we now-a-days call preaching? For though prophecy ing under the old covenant seemeth chiefly to signify a prediction of what is to come, yet it is credible that the ancient prophets were all preachers; and according to the New Testament language, it is evident that prophecy is chiefly preaching. Hence we may understand what kind of virgins the four daughters of Philip were, which did prophesy, what kind of servant of the church P-tryphena, and Tryphosa, and Parnis, whi

boured much in the Lord, which is considerably more than what is said of that Mary, who bestowed much labour on the apostles. How significantly doth the apostle call Priscilla and Aquila, his helpers in Christ Jesus. And what he means by his helpers in that sense, we may see Philip. iv. 3. where he speaks of women which laboured with him in the gospel. All this then being duly considered, the Quakers so called, think it unlawful to forbid such women to preach whom the Lord hath gifted, and who are of a godly life and conversation; since it appears sufficiently that in the primitive church they were not debarred from that service. And as in those days, so in ours, it hath evidently appeared, that some pious women have had a very excellent gift to the edification of the church. All which tends to the glory of God, who is no respecter of persons, and is pleased to make use of weak instruments to shew forth his praise.

As to singing the words of David, since they do not suit the state and condition of mixed assemblies, they disuse the customary formal way of singing in the churches, which has neither precept nor precedent in the New Testament.

*Concerning the resurrection, their belief is orthodox, and agreeable with the testimonies of the holy Scriptures: but because they judge*

e very improper to say that we shall rise  
 in with the same numerical bodies we now  
 ve, their opposers have often falsely accused  
 em, as such who deny the resurrection;  
 ough they fully believe this saying of the  
 postle, "If in this life only we have hope in  
 Christ, we are of all men most miserable." And  
 as to the qualities of the bodies wherewith we  
 shall rise, he saith, "It is sown a natural body,  
 it is raised a spiritual body:" "For," saith the  
 same apostle, "our conversation is in heaven,  
 from whence we look for the Saviour, the Lord  
 Jesus Christ, who shall change our vile body,  
 that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious  
 body, according to the working whereby he is  
 able to subdue all things unto himself." And  
 therefore they have counted it more safe, not  
 to determine with what kind of bodies we shall  
 be raised, provided we have a firm belief that  
 there is to be a resurrection of the dead: for  
 from such a determination many difficulties may  
 arise, which otherwise are avoided; and there-  
 fore they have also said to their antagonists,  
 "Christ's resurrection is indeed an argument  
 for our resurrection; but would it be valid  
 from thence thus to argue: because Christ's  
 body, which was without sin, and was not cor-  
 rupted in the grave, was raised the same it w  
 buried; therefore our bodies, which admi  
 must also be raised the same

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are buried?" Nay, by insisting stiffly on this point, we fall into many difficulties; who will venture to say, that when people die, and are buried about the age of ninety years, their bodies in the resurrection shall be the same decrepid bodies they were when buried; and that unborn children dying, shall be raised with such small bodies they had then? To shun therefore such kind of absurdities, they think it better, not to suffer human wit to expatiate too far, since the apostle saith, "Mind not high things;" and adviseth every man, "not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think."

Now as to church government, both for looking to the orderly conversation of the members, and for taking care of the poor, and of indigent widows and orphans, and also for making inquiry into marriages solemnized among them, they have particular meetings, either weekly, or every two weeks, or monthly, according to the greatness of the churches. They have also quarterly meetings in every county, where matters are brought that cannot well be adjusted in the particular meetings. To these meetings come not only the ministers and elders, but also other members, that are known to be of sober conversation; and what is agreed upon there, is entered into a book belonging to the

meeting. Besides these meetings a general annual assembly is kept in London in the Whitsun week so called ; not for any superstitious observation the Quakers have for that more than at other time, but because that season of year best suits the accommodation.

To this yearly meeting, which sometimes lasteth four, five, or more days, are admitted such as are sent from all churches of that society throughout the world to give an account of the state of the particular churches ; which from some places is done only by writing ; and from that meeting is sent a general epistle to all the churches, which is commonly is printed ; and sometimes particular epistles are sent also to the respective churches. By which it may be known every year, in what condition the churches are ; and in the said epistle generally is recommended a godly life and conversation, and due care about the education of children. If it happens that the poor are where are in want, then that is supplied by others who have in store, or sometimes by an extraordinary collection.

As to the denomination by which they are distinguished from other religious societies, it is, as is well known, Quakers ; but since that name was given them in scorn, as hath been said in due place, they do not assume it any farther than for distinction sake from others ; but the name whereby they call one another is the

**Friends.** And herein they have the example of the primitive Christians, as may be seen Acts xxvii. 3. where it is said, that Julius the centurion courteously intreated Paul, and gave him liberty to go unto the friends (for so the Greek hath it) to refresh himself, and 3 Epist. John 14. we read, The friends salute thee; and greet the friends by name. Now this name of Friends is so common among the Quakers in England, that others also know them, and sometimes call them by that name.

It was, as I find, in the year 1705, that Anne, the late wife of Thomas Camm, deceased in a great age: and having already made mention of her by the name of Anne Audland, I will say something more of her before I describe her exit. She was daughter of Richard Newby, in the parish of Kendal in Westmoreland, being born in the year 1627, and well educated; and being come to maturity, she conversed much with the most religious people of that time. About the year 1650, she was married to John Audland, and in the beginning of 1652, they both were by the ministry of G. Fox convinced of that truth he preached; and in the next year they began to preach that doctrine to others; for which in the following year she was committed to prison in the town of Aukland in the county of Durham, where she had opportunity



to speak to the people through the window ; which she did so pathetically, that several were affected with her testimony ; and after being released, she travelled up and down the country, and had good service ; but not long after she was again committed to prison on an accusation of having spoken blasphemy, for which she was tried at Banbury in Oxfordshire ; the indictment drawn up against her containing that she had said, God did not live ; whereas that which she said was, that true words might be a lie in the mouth of some that spoke them, alleging for truth the saying of the prophet Jeremiah v. 2. "Though they say the Lord liveth, surely they swear falsely." The judge before whom she appeared, behaved himself moderately, and observing how wisely she answered to his questions with a modest boldness, proposed the matter to the jury thus ; "That she acknowledged the Lord her God and Redeemer to live, and that there were gods of the heathen that were dead gods." Some of the justices upon the bench, who sought her destruction, perceiving they should not obtain their end, (for it had been divulged that she should be burnt) went off to influence the jury, and bias them ; which had this effect, that they brought her in guilty of misdemeanor : which made one present say, it was illegal to indict her for one fact, and to bring her in guilty of another : since they ought to have found her

either guilty or not guilty upon the matter of fact charged in the indictment. The judge, though he had carried himself discreetly, had a mind however somewhat to please the justices that were her enemies; and therefore at her refusal to give bond for her good behaviour, she was sent to prison again; though he was heard to say, that she ought to have been discharged. And the prison whither she was sent was a nasty place, several steps under ground; on the side whereof was a common sewer, which sometimes stunk very much, and frogs and toads crawled into the room. Here she was kept about eight months, but shewed herself content, being persuaded that it was for the Lord's sake she thus suffered.

Her husband, John Audland, died as hath been said before, about the beginning of the year 1664, and after two years she was married to Thomas Camm, a minister also of the gospel. She lived very retiredly, and spent much time in solitariness, and was almost daily exercised in reading the holy Scriptures, and other edifying books. Her husband suffered imprisonment three years at Kendal, and about six years at Appleby; insomuch that she came to be well acquainted with adversities: but by all these she was *the more* spurred on to advance in true piety; and was a very remarkable teacher in *the church*, having an extraordinary gift to

declare the truth. And yet she was very modest and humble, insomuch that how full soever she was of matter, she rarely appeared to preach in large meetings, where she knew there were men qualified for that service; and she was grieved when she perceived any of her sex to be too forward on such occasions; and therefore she advised them to be cautious, though she did not omit to encourage the good in all, and endeavoured not to quench the Spirit in any. Thus she continued in a virtuous life to the end of her days. At Bristol she once fell so sick, that it was thought she was nigh death; and then she exhorted those that stood by, to prize their time, and to prepare for their latter end, as God, said she, hath inclined me to do, so that I enjoy unspeakable peace, here with full assurance of eternal rest and felicity in the world to come.

But she recovered from this sickness; and when her dying hour came, which was in her dwelling place near Kendal, she was not less prepared, but said, "I bless the Lord I am prepared for my change. I am full of assurance of eternal salvation, and a crown of glory, through my dear Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." Many other excellent sayings she uttered during the time of her sickness: and when she drew near her end, some of her friends asking her, whether she knew them, "Yes," said she,

I know you every one. I have my understanding as clear as ever : for how should it be otherwise, since my peace is made with God through the Lord Jesus Christ. I have no disturbance in mind, therefore is my understanding and judgment so good and clear ; but to lie under affliction of body and mind, to feel pinching pangs of body even to death, and to want peace with God ; O that would be intolerable to bear !” She advised her husband to quit himself of the cumber of the things of this world, after her death, that he might, with the more freedom attend the ministry of the gospel, and, said she, “ Warn all, but especially the rich, to keep low, and not to be high minded : for humility and holiness is the badge of our profession.” A little before her departure, some fainting fits taking her, she revived again, and said, “ I was glad, thinking I was going to my eternal rest, without disturbance. I have both a sight and earnest of eternal rest with God in the world to come.” A little after she said, “ Methinks I grow weak and cold. My hands and feet are grown very cold, yet my heart is very strong. I must meet with sharper pangs than I have yet felt—This pain is hard to flesh and blood, but must be endured a little time ; ease and eternal rest is at hand ; I am glad I see death so near me.” A little after, seeing her friends weep, she said, “ Be not concerned, for all is

well: I have only death to encounter, and the sting of it is wholly taken away: the grave hath no victory, and my soul is ascending above all sorrow and pains. So let me go freely to my heavenly mansion, disturb me not in my passage. My friends, go to the meeting; let me not hinder the Lord's business, but let it be the chief, and by you all done faithfully, that at the end ye may receive your reward: for mine is sure. I have not been negligent, my day's work is done. Feeling afterwards her pains increasing, she prayed the Lord to help her through the agony of death; and a little after she said, "O my God, O my God, thou hast not forsaken me, blessed be thy name for ever. O my blessed Saviour, that suffered for me and all mankind, great pains in thy holy body upon the cross, remember me thy poor handmaid in this my great bodily affliction. My trust is in thee, my hope is only in thee, my dear Lord. Oh come, come dear Lord Jesus, come quickly, receive my soul to thee, I yield it up, help me now in my bitter pangs." Then her husband prayed to God, that he would be pleased to make her passage easy. And she had no more such pangs, but drew her breath shorter by degrees, and said little more, but that it was good to leave all to the Lord. And so she slept in the Lord the 30th of November 1705, in the 79th year of her age. Thus Anne Cannon

departed this life, and her husband said afterwards that he counted it a great blessing to have had her to wife: for she was indeed a very excellent woman, and therefore I have described her latter end thus circumstantially.

Having now related what hath come to my knowledge, that I thought remarkable, and of singular moment in respect of the rise and progress of the people called Quakers, I think what I have written may suffice, and answer the contents of the title of this history; and therefore I will add only a few occurrences, and then come to a conclusion.

Many years ago, even in the time of king James I. endeavours were used to unite England and Scotland into one kingdom, but all in vain; king William III. also tried what could be done in this case, but his life did not permit him to bring the work to perfection. Yet at length the matter was agreed and settled about the beginning of the year 1707, in the reign of queen Anne, it being concluded that these two kingdoms henceforth should be united into one, and be called Great Britain. In the forepart of the year 1708, Scotland was threatened with an invasion by the pretended prince of Wales; but he failed in the attempt, and his design came to nought. Now since the union of the said kingdom with that of England was accomplished, and the succession of the crown in th

Protestant line established on that account was congratulated by a multitude of addresses from her subjects; and the Quakers so called judged themselves obliged also to testify their affection to that princess, as they did by the following address.

To Anne, Queen of Great Britain, &c.

The grateful and humble Address of the People called Quakers, from their Yearly Meeting in London, this 28th day of the third month called May, 1708.

"We having great cause to commemorate the manifold mercies of God vouchsafed to this united kingdom of Great Britain, believe it our duty to make our humble acknowledgments first to the divine Majesty, and next to queen, for the liberty we enjoy under her and favourable government, with hearty desires and prayers to Almighty God (who hath his signs of her enemies, both foreign and domestic, that he will so effectually replenish the heart, together with those of her great wisdom, that righte-ousness, and which exalt

“And we take this opportunity to give the queen the renewed assurance of our hearty affection to the present established government, and that we will as a people in our respective stations, according to our peaceable principles, by the grace of God, approve ourselves in all fidelity the queen’s faithful and obedient subjects, and as such conclude with fervent prayers to the Lord of Hosts, that after a prosperous, safe, and long reign in this life, thou O queen, mayest be blessed with an eternal crown of glory.”

This address was signed in the name of the meeting by fourteen members thereof, who also were ordered to present it; but it being understood that the queen seemed willing to be attended with it in private, only seven, among whom G. Whitehead and Tho. Lower, went in with it, and were introduced by the principal secretary of state—Boyle, and G. Whitehead presenting it, said, “We heartily wish the queen health and happiness: we are come to present an address from our yearly meeting, which we could have desired might have been more early and seasonably timed, but could not, because our said meeting was but last week; and therefore now *hope the queen will favourably accept our address.*” Then G. Whitehead delivering it, the queen said, “*Pray read it:* Whereupon he took and read it, and the queen answered,



“ I thank you very kindly for your address, and I assure you of my protection: you may depend upon it.”

To which G. Whitehead replied, “ We thankfully acknowledge, that God by his power and special providence, hath preserved and defended the Queen against the evil designs of her enemies, having made the queen an eminent instrument for the good of this nation and realm of Great Britain, in maintaining the toleration, the liberty we enjoy in respect to our consciences against persecution. Which liberty being grounded upon this reason in the late king's reign, for the uniting the Protestant subjects in interest and affection, the union of Great Britain now settled tends to the strength and safety thereof: for in union is the strength and stability of a nation or kingdom: and without union, no nation or people can be safe; but are weak and unstable. The succession of the crown being settled and established in the Protestant line, must needs be very acceptable to all true Protestant subjects.

“ And now O queen, that the Lord may preserve and defend thee for the future, the remainder of thy days, and support thee under all thy great care and concern for the safety and good of this nation and kingdom of Great Britain, and

that the Lord may bless and preserve thee to the end, is our sincere desire.

To this the queen returned, "I thank you for your speech, and for your address; and ye may be assured I will take care to protect you."

And G. Whitehead replied, "The Lord bless and prosper the queen in all her good intentions." And thereupon he and his friends withdrew.

The most remarkable occurrences the Quakers in England now met with, were that they enjoying the liberty to perform their religious worship publicly, without disturbance, were afterward encountered by the writings of their enemies from ignorance or envy, and represented as maintainers of heterodox sentiments; but they not failing of answers, the eyes of many were opened, and some came over to them. And though sometimes those of the public church had the success to draw over one that was born and educated among the Quakers, but inclined to more liberty, and to be esteemed by the world, yet there have been *others of the episcopal church, who not from any earthly consideration, but merely by a conviction of their mind, have entered in*

society with the Quakers ; not fearing to make public profession of their religion, as may appear by two letters which I will insert here ; the one of Samuel Crisp, a clergyman of the episcopal church, who gave the following account of his change, to one of his near relations.

My dear Friend,

“ I received a letter from thee, the week before last, which was sent by thy uncle Bolton : there were a great many kind expressions in it, and in thy sister Clopten’s likewise. I acknowledge myself much obliged to you both, and to the whole family, for many repeated kindnesses, and if my school had not engrossed so much of my time, I would have taken opportunity to answer my dear friend’s letter now, and upon that account my delay will be the more excusable.

“ The news thou hast heard of my late change is really true, I cannot conceal it, for it is what I glory in ; neither was it in any prospect of temporal advantage that induced me to it, but a sincere love to the truth, and pure regard to my own soul : neither can I be sufficiently thankful to God, that he hath let me live to this glorious day, and not cut me off in the midst of my sins and provocations against him

he is longsuffering to us ward, not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance : he hath brought me off from the forms and shadows of religion, and let me see in a more illustrious manner what is the life and substance of it, as he found me in some degree faithful to that measure of light and knowledge he had bestowed on me, whilst I was in the communion of the church of England ; therefore he was pleased of late, as I humbly waited upon him, to make known to me greater and deeper mysteries of his kingdom ; and I can truly say, that I find by daily experience, as I keep low and retired into that pure gift which he hath planted within me, things are every day more and more cleared up to me, and the truth shines and prevails greatly over the kingdom of darkness ; and if I should now turn my back upon such manifestations as these, and entangle myself again with the yoke of bondage, surely I should grieve the Holy Spirit, so that he might justly withdraw his kind operations, and never return more to assist and comfort me : for God is not mocked ; religion is a very serious and weighty thing ; repentance and salvation are not to be trifled with, nor is turning to God, to be put off till our own time, *leisure, or conveniency*, but we must love and *cherish the least appearance of Christ, not alighting or despising the day of small things*

but embrace the first opportunity of following Christ in any of his commands; when he speaks, there is such force and authority in it, that we cannot stand to cavil, dispute or ask questions: for unless we will be so obstinate as to shut our eyes against the sun, we must needs confess to the truth of his doctrine, and presently strike in with it; and therefore when for several weeks I had lived more privately and retiredly in London, than was usual, fasting twice or thrice in a week, or sometimes more, spending my time in reading the Scriptures, and in prayer to God, this was a good preparation of my mind, to receive the truth which he was then about to make known to me. I lamented the errors of my past life, and was desirous to attain a more excellent degree of holiness than I had discovered in the church of England. In this religious retirement God knew the breathings of my soul, how sincere I was, and resigned to him when alone. I wanted him to set me free, and to speak peace and comfort to my soul, which was grieved and wearied with the burden of my sin: for though I had strictly conformed myself to the orders and ceremonies of the church of England, and had kept myself from running into any great or scandalous enormities, the fear of the Almighty preserving me, yet still I had not that rest and satisfaction in myself which I desired, and greatly long

for. I found when I had examined my state and condition to God ward that things were not right with me.

As for a sober and plausible conversation in the eye of the world, I knew that was a very easy attainment. A good natural temper, with the advantage of a liberal education, will quickly furnish a man with abilities for that, so that he shall be looked upon as a saint, and very spiritual; when perhaps in chains of darkness, in the gall of bitterness, and in the very bond of iniquity. If this sort of righteousness would have done, perhaps I might make as fair pretensions that way as some others; but alas, I quickly saw the emptiness and unsatisfactoriness of those things: this is a covering that will not protect or hide us from the wrath of the Almighty, when he comes to judgment. It is not a man's natural temper, nor his education, that makes him a good Christian; this is not the righteousness which the gospel calls for, nor is this the truth in the inward parts which God requires. The heart and affections must be cleansed and purified before we can be acceptable to God; therefore it was death to me to think of taking up my rest in a formal pretence of holiness, wherein yet I saw to my grief *abundance of people wrapped themselves, slept securely and quietly; dreaming of the felicity of paradise, as if heaven were now their own*

and they needed not trouble themselves any more about religion. I could not entertain so dangerous an opinion as this, for then I should be tempted to take up my rest by the way, whilst I was travelling towards the promised land. I think I made a little progress in a holy life, and through God's assistance I weakened some of my spiritual enemies, whilst I lived in the communion of the national church. I thank my God, I can truly say, whilst I used those prayers, I did it with zeal and sincerity, in his fear and dread ; but still I ceased not my earnest supplication to him in private, that he would shew me something more excellent ; that I might get a complete victory over all my lusts and passions, and might perfect righteousness before him ; for I found a great many sins and weaknesses daily attending me ; and though I made frequent resolutions to forsake those sins, yet still the temptation was too strong for me ; so that often I had cause to complain with the apostle in the bitterness of my soul, "O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" Who shall set me free, and give me strength to triumph over sin, the world, and the devil : that I may in every thing please God, and there may not be the least thought, word, or motion, gesture, or action, but what is exactly agreeable to his most holy will, as if I saw him standing before

me, and as if I were to be judged by him for the thought of my heart next moment ? O divine life ! O seraphic soul ! O that I could always stand here ; for here is no reflection, no sorrow, no repentance : but at God's right hand there is perfect peace, and a river of unspeakable joy. O that we might imitate the life of Jesus, and be thoroughly furnished unto every good word and work. This was the frequent breathing of my soul to God when I was in the country, but more especially after I had left my new preferment of a chaplain, and took private lodgings in London. In this retirement I hope I may say without boasting, that I was very devout and religious, and I found great comfort and refreshment in it from the Lord, who let me see the beauty of holiness ; and the sweetness, that arises from an humbled mortified life, was then very pleasant to my taste, and I rejoiced in it more than in all the delights and pleasures of the world.

“ And now it pleased the Lord to shew me, that if I would indeed live strictly and holily as becomes the gospel, then I must leave the communion of the church of England ; but knew not yet which way to determine myself, nor to what body of men I should join, who were more *orthodox* and more regular in their lives. As *for the Quakers* so called, I was so great *stranger to them*, that I had never read any



their books, nor do I remember that ever I conversed with any one man of that communion in my whole life. I think there was one in Foxly, while I was curate there; but I never saw the man, though I went several times to his house on purpose to talk with him, and to bring him off from his mad and wild enthusiasm, as I then ignorantly thought it to be. As for that way, I knew that it was every where spoken against. He that had a mind to appear more witty and ingenious than the rest, would choose this for the subject of his profane jests and drollery; with this he makes sport, and diverts the company; for a Quaker is but another name for a fool or a madman, and was scarce ever mentioned but with scorn and contempt. As for drollery, I confess I was never any great friend to it: but indeed if all was true that was laid to the Quakers charge, I thought they were some of the worst people that ever appeared in the world, and wondered with what face they could call themselves Christians; since I was told they denied the fundamental articles of the holy faith, to which I ever bore the highest veneration and esteem; and notwithstanding I had always lived at the greatest distance from that people, and was very zealous in the worship of the church of England, and upon all occasions would speak very honourably of it, moreover was content to suffer some few inconveniences

upon that account ; (as thou very well knowest) yet my father still looked upon me as inclining to the Quakers ; and some years ago signified to a friend, he was afraid I would become an enthusiast ; and while I was at Bungan school, he sent me two books to read that were written against the Quakers, one of which was John Faldo's : who hath been sufficiently exposed by William Penn.

“ Whilst I lived in London in that private retired manner (I was just now speaking of) walking very humbly in the sight of God, and having opportunity to reflect upon my past life, as I had occasion to be one day at a bookseller's shop, I happened to cast my eye on Barclay's works : and having heard in the country, that he was a man of great account amongst the Quakers, I had a mind to see what their principles were, and what defence they could make for themselves : for sure, thought I, these people are not so silly and ridiculous ; nor maintainers of such horrid opinions, as the author of the Snake, and some others would make us believe. I took Barclay home with me, and I read him through in a week's time, save a little treatise at the end, which I found to be very philosophical, I omitted : but however, I soon read enough to convince me of my own blindness and ignorance in the things of God ; then I found a light to break in upon my mind, whi

did mightily refresh and comfort me, in that poor, low, and humbled state, in which I then was ; for indeed I was then, and had been for a considerable time before, very hungry and thirsty after righteousness, and therefore I received the truth with all readiness of mind : it was like balm to my soul, and as showers of rain to the thirsty earth, which is parched with heat and drought. This author laid things down so plainly, and proved them with such ingenuity and dexterity of learning, and opened the Scriptures so clearly to me, that without standing to cavil, dispute, raise argument or objection, or consulting with flesh and blood, I presently resigned myself to God ; and weeping for joy that I had found so great a treasure, I often thanked him with tears in my eyes for so kind a visitation of his love, that he was graciously pleased to look toward me when my soul cried after him : so, though before I was in great doubt and trouble of mind, not knowing which way to determine myself, yet now the sun breaking out so powerfully upon me, the clouds were scattered : I was now fully satisfied in my own mind which way I ought to go, and to what body of people I *should* join myself.

“So I immediately left the communion of the church of England, and went to Gracechurch street meeting. After I had read Barclay, I read some other books of that kind, among

which was an excellent piece, though in a small volume, called "No Cross, No Crown." Thus I continued reading and frequenting meetings for several weeks together, but did not let any one soul know what I was about. The first man I conversed with was George Whitehead, and this was several weeks after I began to read Barclay, and frequent their meetings. By him I was introduced into more acquaintance, and the farther I went, the more I liked their plainness, and the decency and simplicity of their conversation. They do not use the ceremonies and salutations of the church of England, but shake hands freely and converse together as brothers and sisters, that are sprung of the same royal seed, and made kings and priests unto God. O, the love, the sweetness and tenderness of affection I have seen among this people! "By this," says Christ, "shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another." "Put on therefore," says the apostle, "(as the elect of God, holy and beloved) bowels of mercy, humbleness of mind, kindness, meekness long-suffering.

"Thus, my dear friend, I have given thee an account of my proceeding in this affair. As to my bodily state, if thou desirest to know what it is, I may acquaint thee that I have my bodily health as well as ever, and I bless God I have food and raiment sufficient for me, so that

want no outward thing; and I have the necessities and conveniencies of life liberally: let us not burden ourselves with taking care for the vanities and superfluities of it; let us possess our vessels in sanctification and honour; and as we bring our minds into perfect subjection to the whole will of God, so let us bring our body to the most simple and natural way of living; being content with the fewest things, never studying to gratify our wanton appetites, nor to follow the customs and humours of men: but how we may so contract our earthly cares and pleasures, that we may bring most glory to God, most health and peace to our own souls, and do most service to the truth; and if this be our aim, certainly a very small portion of the things of this world will suffice us: seeing we are Christians, we should therefore earnestly pursue those things which bring us nearest to God, and which are most perfective of human nature: for what is more than a competency, seems to be a burden to a generous philosophical soul, which would breathe in a pure vehicle, that so it may have a quick sense and relish of all blessings, both of the superior and inferior worlds.

“Thou knowest, my dear friend, that religion is a very serious thing, and repentance is a great work, and one precious immortal soul is of more worth than ten thousand perishing worlds, with all their pomp and glory: therefore let us take

courage, and be valiant for the truth upon earth, let us not content ourselves with a name and profession of godliness, let us come to the life and power of it, let us not despond of getting the victory. We have a little strength for God: Let us be faithful to him, and he will give us more strength, so that we shall see the enemy of our peace fall before us, and nothing shall be impossible unto us: I say, my friend, let us be faithful to that measure of light and knowledge which God has given us, to be profited and edified by it in a spiritual life, and as God sees we are diligent and faithful to work with the strength we have, he will more and more enlighten us, so that we shall see to the end of those forms and shadows of religion wherein we have formerly lived; but if he sees we are about to take up our rest in those shadows, that we grow cold and indifferent in the pursuit of holiness, running out into notions and speculations: and have more mind to dispute, and to make a shew of learning and subtlety, than to lead a holy and devout life, then it is just with God to leave us in a carnal and polluted state; to continue yet but in the outward court, where we may please ourselves with beholding the beauty and ornaments of a worldly sanctuary, and never witness the veil being taken away, and that we are brought by the blood of Jesus, into the holiest of all, where alone the

is true peace with God, and rest to the weary soul. I could say much on this head, if time or leisure would give leave.

“As for a particular answer to thy letter, I have not time now to give it; and for the present let this general answer suffice: and if thou wilt consider things in their pure abstracted nature, and not suffer the prejudice of education to sway thee, but in fear and humility wilt search out the truth for thyself, thou wilt find that there needs no other answer to thy letter than what I have already given; for by waiting upon God, and diligently seeking him, thou wilt find an answer to it in thy own bosom, and this will be much more full, clear, and satisfactory than I, or any other man living can pretend to give thee, or any other friend who hath lovingly wrote to me; for whom I desire, with all the sincere hearted in the church of England, that they may come to witness the almighty power of God, to save and redeem them from every yoke; and that they may see clearly to the end of those things which are abolished, and come to the enjoyment of spiritual and heavenly things themselves, is the daily prayer and deep travail of my soul, God knoweth. Till I can be more particular, if thou please thou mayest communicate this to them, and let them know that I am well, and thank them for their kind letters. Let us remember &

pray for one another with all fervency, that we may stand perfect in the whole will of God, Amen, saith my soul. I am thy most affectionate friend and servant in Jesus,

“Samuel Crisp.”

The following letter, or account of one Evan Jevans, is also remarkable.

“Since it hath pleased the divine goodness to endue me with reason, I heartily thank his most excellent Majesty: that it has been the further product of his good will to give me life and being in that part of the world, where I have had the freedom to use it; especially in the choice of my persuasion, and way of returning my acknowledgment to him. I wish that all, who make any pretensions to religion, would make use of this noble faculty with subjection to the divine will to determine their choice in this grand affair; and not let the religion of their education be that of their judgment. If people were thus truly wise unto their own salvation, and did not too lazily resign themselves to the conduct of their guides, thereby regarding more their ease than safety, they would not only be the better able to give *a reason of the hope* that is in them, but they *would shew more warmth in their devotion,*



more charity in their religion, and more piety in their conversation than at present they do.

“When I was visited some time ago by the chastising hand of the Lord, for sin and my disobedience to his holy will, I laboured under great affliction of mind and anguish of spirit; and though I was constant above many in my attendance on the public prayers of the church, strict in my observation of its ceremonies, and exceeding frequent in the use of private devotion, yet my burden increased, and I waxed worse.

“In this wretched and doleful condition I was, when at a relation’s house, who had providentially returned from Pennsylvania to his native country, I lighted upon R. Barclay’s Apology for the Quakers; by the reading whereof I was so well persuaded of their principles, and by turning my mind inward to the divine gift, (according to their doctrine) it gave me victory, in a great measure, over our common enemy, banished away my disorderly imaginations, and restored me to my former regularity: I received such satisfaction and comfort to my distressed soul, that thereupon I left the church of England, and joined myself in society with them; and I am the more confirmed in my change, especially where it respects the worship of our Creator; because it is not only the most agreeable to the Scriptures

of Truth, but heaven has given us assurance of its approbation thereof, it having been at times, to my own experience, most powerfully attended with the presence of the Most High.

“I hope none will begrudge me this mercy, because I received it not by their ministry; if they do, I have cause to suspect their charity is not of a Christian latitude, since our blessed Redeemer approved not of that narrowness in his disciples in somewhat a like case.

“But here to obviate the objection some may make to my change, because of the distress I lay under, and the discomposure I was subject to at times, I would have it remarked, that I read the said Apology beyond my expectation, with more sedateness than usual, and a more quiet composure of mind: so that with the influence of the Almighty, or Providence, or both, I had also the benefit of that distinguishing faculty of man in the change of my opinion. O that I may never forget the Lord's mercy to my soul, who had compassion on me when I wallowed in my blood, and who said to the dry bones, live. O that all such as are visited by the chastising hand of their Maker, would seriously lay it to heart, and consider their own welfare and salvation; I could wish with all my heart, that such who labour under this *anxiety of mind*, would take encouragement to *hope in the Lord's mercy through their blessed*

Redeemer, by his kindness and long forbearance with me. I am a living monument of it now ; and I hope I shall be so, while he affords me a being here. If these lines should come to the hands of any that are afflicted and distressed as I was, I have an effectual remedy, through mercy, to prescribe unto them. Turn your minds inward to the grace of God in your own hearts, refrain from your own imaginations, be still, and quietly resign yourselves to his holy will, so you shall find health to your souls, refreshment to your spirits, and the sweet consolation of the Lord in your own bosoms ; you shall find your mourning turned to gladness, and your heaviness to joy ; this has been my experience of the goodness of the Holy One of Israel, who abhors sin and iniquity ; therefore I recommend it to you, and I think this is no mistrusting of the cause, for they are the sick and wounded in spirit, not the whole, that need the physician.

“As for renouncing the covenant, which I and every Christian ought to be under, of forsaking the devil and all his works, I am so far from entertaining one thought of neglecting that duty, that I think myself wholly obliged to observe it : and if I should affirm, that through the grace of God, and his assistance, (for otherwise I am satisfied I cannot do it,) the observation of it is possible, I can find no rea-

son why it should be false doctrine in a Quaker, more than in a churchman.

“As for deserting that church and ministry which the Son of God came down from heaven to establish, I am not conscious to myself thereof; for I say, Christ himself is the head of our church, and, by his Spirit and grace, the ordainer of our ministry.

“And as to the last query my ingenuous acquaintance is pleased to propose, I do let him know, that my former despair and forlorn condition has been, since my adhering to that reproached people, changed into a sweet enjoyment of the goodness of God. I could not conceal the Lord's goodness, least he should withdraw his mercies from me.

“I had no secular interest to corrupt me in this change. It is apparent to many, I declined it; but as it was peace with God my Maker, and mercy to my soul I wanted; so having found the pearl of great price among them, I parted with all to purchase it; or rather I was restored to all, I mean, the enjoyment of the divine goodness, and of myself, by setting a due value upon it.

From this account it appears, that the writer thereof aimed at nothing in his change of religion, but the quietness of his mind, and the *salvation of his soul.*

Now I am to mention, that the queen in the year 1710, in her speech to the parliament, having again declared that she would maintain the toleration and liberty of conscience, was addressed by many ; wherefore the people called Quakers esteemed it their duty to shew also their grateful acknowledgment of this favour, which they did by the following address.

To Queen ANNE, of Great Britain, &c.

The humble and thankful Address of the Queen's Protestant subjects, the people called Quakers, in and about the city of London, on behalf of themselves, and the rest of their persuasion.

“ When we consider the queens royal regard to protect our religious liberty, and the fresh assurance from the throne, of her Christian resolution to maintain the indulgence by law allowed to scrupulous consciences, and her tender care that the same may be transmitted to posterity in the Protestant succession in the house of Hanover, we find ourselves concerned gratefully to acknowledge her goodness therein, and the ready concurrence of her great council therewith : taking this occasion to assure the queen of our duty, and affection, and peaceable behaviour under her government, as is or

principle, and hath always been our practice.

“And we heartily desire our fellow subjects may lay aside all animosities, and in a spirit of love and meekness, endeavour to outdo each other in virtue and universal charity.

“That it may graciously please Almighty God to defend and bless thee, O queen and guide thee by his counsel in a long and prosperous reign here, and afterwards receive thee to glory, is the hearty prayer of thy faithful subjects.”

To this address the queen was pleased to  
answer :

“I thank you for your address, and ye may depend upon my protection.”

The animosities mentioned in this address. did regard the division, which having been a good while among the subjects, began to increase as many thought by the change of the ministry But this being out of my province, I will no meddle with it.

In the year 1712, died Richard Cromwell, the son of Oliver the protector, about the age of ninety years. Great changes this man had seen, *having himself* been the supreme ruler of *England*, as hath been mentioned in due place.

Although I do not intend to relate much more of any occurrences, because I hasten towards a conclusion, yet I think it worth the while to add the following case.

In the year 1713, in the spring, there was a suit at law, on the act against Occasional Conformity. It happened that one John Perry, a justice of peace of Allborough, in the county of Suffolk, going to the parish church, understood by the way, that no service was to be done there at that time; but hearing that there was a Quakers meeting there, he went to it. One Wall, the bailiff of the place, being informed thereof, imagined that the said justice might not go there, because of the aforesaid act, and therefore thinking that something might be gained by it, got witnesses to declare that the said justice had been in the meeting; and said afterwards in a boasting way to him, "Now I have hooked you." To which the other replied, "I will stand to it." The bailiff then entered his suit in the name of one that lived thereabouts by charity. When the case was pleaded at the sessions, the judge, who was baron Sathaniel Lovel, declared the meaning of the forementioned act to be thus, viz. That it did not regard any who accidentally went into a meeting of dissenters; but that it was against those who conformed with the church, thereby to qualify themselves for an office, without

changing their religion. But this was quite another case; for the priest of the parish himself gave a certificate that the said justice was a good member of the church. From hence it appeared that this suit was mere malice; and the informers, or witnesses, were brought to that pinch, that they durst not expect the verdict of the jury, for fear that they should have been condemned to pay the charges: and therefore they let the thing fall.

Being now entered into this year, I cannot omit to say, that a peace between England and France being concluded, and the subjects from all parts of the nation congratulating the queen with addresses, the Quakers did not omit also to present an address; being as follows.

To ANNE, Queen of Great Britain, &c.

The humble Address of her Protestant dissenting subjects, called Quakers, met at our annual meeting in London, the 3d day of the fourth month called June, 1713.

“ May it please the queen,

“ We having been sorrowfully affected at the calamity which war brought on Europe, cannot omit to express our satisfaction and gladness for the queen's great care, and Christian concern for establishing so long desired a peace.



"We are also under a dutiful sense of the queen's gracious government and compassion manifested towards tender consciences at home; as well as noble and Christian interposition, in favour of persecuted Protestants abroad.

"And farther crave leave to assure the queen, that we shall, as in duty bound, approve ourselves, in all humility and faithfulness, the queen's obedient subjects; and, though but a small part of those that enjoy, under thy mild government, protection in religion and civil liberties; we cannot but earnestly pray for, and desire the quiet and safety of our country; which evidently appears to be the queen's care to establish, in having done so much for securing the Protestant interest, and maintaining perfect friendship with the house of Hanover. That it may please Almighty God in his mercy and goodness to assist with his wisdom the queen, in all her councils, and give her long to enjoy the quiet fruit of lasting peace in this life, and in that which is to come joy and peace everlasting, is our hearty and fervent prayer."

This address, which chiefly contained an assurance of fidelity to the queen, was accepted favourably.

The next year, being that of 1714, the queen was often ill, and there was much division among the people: for a bill was brought in

parliament called, An act to prevent the growth of schism ; and the party that prevailed then was very active to get this bill passed. And since it tended to deprive the dissenters from keeping schools, and to allow that liberty to none but members of the episcopal church, or at least to nobody but who had licence from them, it met with great opposition, and many reasons against it were published ; the people called Quakers offered also to the legislature the following reasons against it.

I. The church of England hath frequently declared, by several of her members, in a clerical, as well as civil capacity by those who framed and espoused one or more of the bills against occasional conformity, that she is in principle against persecution, and for preserving the toleration.

II. The promoters of this bill may please to remember, that the queen hath declared from the throne, that she will maintain the toleration inviolable.

III. The Protestant subjects of this kingdom, who are parents of children, are supposed to have preserved to them, by the fundamental laws of this kingdom, the natural right of the care and direction of the

education of their own children: which natural right this bill seems calculated to take away and destroy.

IV. If the governments, which are now either heathen or Mahometan, should take into the same policy, the society which the queen hath incorporated for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts, can have very little, if any good effect or success.

V. May it not seem an objection and contradiction to the many princely and Christian solicitations which the queen by her ministers hath made at foreign courts, on the behalf of Protestants, against the violent intrusions of Papists, into their rights and just privileges ;

VI. It may be the means to oblige the carrying out of large sums of money for foreign education.

VII. It may probably do much hurt to charitable foundations.

VIII. It seems not to be agreeable to that great law of Christ, Mat. vii. 12. " Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them ; for this is the law and the prophets."

But whatever was objected, the said bill at length passed, and was confirmed with the royal assent, which gave occasion to the Quakers to add in the conclusion of the printed epistle of their annual assembly in London, the following caution and exhortation; "There seems at present to hang over us a cloud, threatening a storm. Let us all watch and pray, and retire to our munition and strong hold on our spiritual rock and foundation, which standeth sure; that our God may defend, help and bless us as his peculiar people, to the end of our days and time here, and the full fruition of the heavenly kingdom and glory hereafter."

"About Midsummer this year died Sophia, widow and electoral princess of Brunswick Lunenburgh, on whom the succession of the crown of Great Britain was settled. Scarcely two months after her demise, queen Anne deceased, who after having languished a long time: at length was taken away by death on the first day of August, the self-same day that the act against the growth of schism was to have taken effect.

The same day George, prince elector of Brunswick Lunenburgh, was proclaimed king of Great Britain; who some time after repairing *to England*, made his public entry into London *on the 20th of September*. Not long after his *arrival* he declared in council, that he wo

To this address the king was pleased to give this gracious answer :

“ I am well satisfied with the marks of duty you express in your address, and you may be assured of my protection.”

The address being read, G. Whitehead spoke to this effect :

“ Thou art welcome to us, king George; we heartily wish thee health and happiness, and thy son the prince also. King William III. was a happy instrument in putting a stop to persecution, by promoting toleration, which being intended for the uniting the king's Protestant subjects in interest and affection, it hath so far that effect, as to make them more kind to one another, even among the differing persuasions, than they were when persecution was on foot. We desire the king may have further knowledge of us and our innocence; and that to live a peaceable and quiet life in all godliness and honesty, under the king and his government, is according to our principle and practice.

G. Whitehead having thus spoken, his name was asked; whereupon he answered, “ George Whitehead.” And having it upon his mind to see the prince also, and intimating his desire to a lord who was gentleman to the prince's be-

chamber, he made way to it; and thus G. Whitehead, with some of his friends, got access; and they were introduced by one of the prince's gentlemen into a chamber, where the prince met them; and then G. Whitehead spoke to him, the substance of which was as followeth:

“We take it as a favour, that we are thus admitted to see the prince of Wales, and truly are very glad to see thee; having delivered our address to the king thy royal Father, and being desirous to give thyself a visit in true love, we very heartily wish health and happiness to you both; and that if it should please God thou shouldst survive thy father, and come to the throne, thou mayest enjoy tranquillity and peace, &c.

“I am persuaded, that if the king thy father, and thyself, do stand for the toleration for liberty of conscience to be kept inviolable, God will stand by you.

“May king Solomon's choice of wisdom be thy choice, with holy Job's integrity and compassion to the oppressed; and the state of the righteous ruler commended by king David, viz, he that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God; and he shall be as the light *of the morning, when the sun riseth, even a morning without clouds, as the tender grass springing out of the earth by clear shining af*

heritage hath often heretofore rebuked and limited the raging waves of the sea, hath, blessed be his name, mercifully dispersed the cloud threatening a storm, which lately seemed to hang over us; which, together with the favour God hath given us in the eyes of the king and the government, for the free enjoyment of our religious and civil liberties, call for true thankfulness to him. And humbly to pray to Almighty God for the king and those in authority, for his and their safety and defence, is certainly our Christian duty, as well as to walk inoffensively as a grateful people."

Thus they signified their thankfulness for the favour they enjoyed;\* and as they did now enjoy liberty and quiet, so the other subjects were also maintained in their rights under a gentle government, so that none had cause to fear, who behaved themselves like peaceable subjects. And yet in many places in England were great convulsions and tumults; and some

\*But seeing from the first grant of an affirmation instead of an oath, the form then obtained was not entirely such as was desired, and many were not easy therewith: they several times applied to the parliament for a more easy form, which at length, through the merciful providence of God and the favour of king George, and the parliament, was obtained in the latter end of the year 1721; the form now being, "I, A. B. do solemnly, sincerely, and truly declare and affirm," &c.

hot headed clergymen were not a little instrumental therein; whereupon an open rebellion ensued, but the rebels were defeated near Preston by the king's forces.

Before I conclude this year, I am to say that the French king Lewis XIV. did not live to see the end of it, but on the first of September, N. S. after having long languished by a malignant distemper, died in the 77th year of his age; having before appointed his brother's son, the duke of Orleans, regent of the kingdom of France.

This death seemed not a little to have altered the measures of the pretender; nevertheless in the beginning of the year 1716, he came over from France to Scotland in hopes to make an inroad from thence into England, but his attempt miscarried, and his forces were discomfited by those of the king. The common opinion was that he chiefly relied on assistance from France; but that was denied him by that court, though he seemed to have reckoned upon it. He also lingered some time in Great Britain, after his forces were defeated; but seeing no way to invade the throne he aimed at, he returned at length to France, which kingdom he hath been *fain to depart* since, to the joy of many inhabitants of England: for it was thought that th



rebels being deprived of their chief, the disturbance would be at an end.

This rebellion being thus happily quenched, induced the inhabitants of Great Britain to congratulate the king with addresses; and these congratulations being become so general, the people called Quakers were not wanting to prepare also an address, to testify their loyalty; and to express their joy for the quelling of the rebellion; and therefore in their yearly meeting they drew up an address which they presented to the king on the last day of the month called May, being introduced by the Earl of Manchester, one of the gentlemen of the said king's bed chamber, when G. Whitehead said in substance:

That in their annual assembly held for the religious concerns of their society, endeavouring to promote and put in practice the duties of religion professed by them, the sense of the great deliverance had such a weight upon their minds that they were willing to express it in an address to the king George, whom God by his providence had brought hither and preserve so that he could well say, he was George I the grace of God, king of Great Britain, &c. And that as men carried that saying stamp money in their pockets, so it was

wished it might be imprinted in the hearts of the subjects.

Hereupon the address was presented, and read to the king, being as followeth :

To GEORGE, King of Great Britain, &c.

The humble Address of the People called Quakers, from their yearly meeting in London, the 26th day of the third month called May, 1716.

“ May it please the king,

“ We thy faithful and peaceable subjects, being met in this our annual assembly, do hold ourselves obliged, in point of principle and gratitude, rather than by formal and frequent addresses, humbly and openly to acknowledge the manifold blessings and kind providences of God, which have attended these kingdoms ever since thy happy accession to the throne.

“ And as our religion effectually enjoins us obedience to the supreme authority, so it is with great satisfaction that we pay it to a prince, whose justice, clemency and moderation cannot but endear, and firmly unite the hearts and *affections* of all his true Protestant subjects.

“ We are therefore sorrowfully affected with the unhappiness of those our countrymen, ”

have so little gratitude or goodness, as to be uneasy under so just and mild an administration : nor can we reflect on the late unjust and unnatural rebellion, without concluding the promoters thereof, and actors therein, were men infatuated, and hurried by such an evil spirit, as would lay waste and destroy both the civil and religious liberties of these Protestant nations.

“ And as God, the Lord of Hosts, hath most signally appeared to the confounding that Black Conspiracy, so we pray his good Providence may always attend the king’s councils and undertakings, to the establishing his throne in righteousness and peace, and making his house a sure house.

“ Permit us therefore, great prince, to lay hold of this opportunity to approach thy royal presence, with our hearty thanks to the king and his great council, for all the privileges and liberties we enjoy. To behold a prince upon the throne, solicitous for the ease and happiness of his people, beyond any other views, so heightens our satisfaction and joy, that we want words to express our full sense thereof. And therefore we can do no less than assure the king, that as it is our duty to demean ourselves towards the king’s person and government with all faithful obedience, so we are determined by divine assistance, devoutly and heartily to pray

the God and Father of all our mercies, to vouchsafe unto the king a long, peaceable, and prosperous reign; and that when it shall please the Almighty to remove from us so precious a life, by taking it to himself, there may not want a branch of thy royal family, endowed with wisdom and virtue, to fill the throne, till time shall be no more."

To this address the king was pleased to give this gracious answer.

"I thank you for the assurance of duty and affection to my person and government, contained in this address; and you may always depend upon my protection."

Thus we again see a prince on the throne, who solemnly assureth the Quakers so called, of his protection; so that now they enjoy the due liberty of subjects that behave themselves peaceably and dutifully under the government set over them, in like manner as other inhabitants of Great Britain: and therefore they have not neglected to exhort one another to shew their thankfulness to Almighty God, and to pray for the king, as it hath been intimated *already that this was recommended in one of the epistles of their yearly meeting. No since mention hath several times been made*

this history of those epistles of the annual assembly to the particular churches, I have thought fit to insert here one of them, viz. that of the year 1717, which is as followeth :

The Epistle from the yearly meeting in London, held by adjournment, from the 10th day of the fourth month, to the 14th of the same inclusive, 1717. To the quarterly, and monthly meetings of Friends, in Great Britain, and elsewhere.

“ Our salutation, in the love of Christ Jesus our blessed Lord, is freely extended unto you, whose tender care over, and mercy to, this our annual assembly, we do humbly and thankfully acknowledge, in the love, amity, tender condescension, and peaceable procedure thereof, with respect to the divine power and goodness of the Lord our God, and the service of his church and people ; sincerely desiring the prosperity of his whole heritage, even in all the churches of Christ among us, in his dear love, unity and peace, to his eternal glory, and our universal comfort and perpetual joy in the kingdom of the dear Son of God.

“ We are truly comforted, in that we understand there is such a general concurrence and union among Friends, with our former earnest desires and counsel, for true and universal love,

unity, peace and good order, to be earnestly endeavoured and maintained among us, as a peculiar people, chosen of the Lord out of the world, to bear a faithful testimony to his holy name and truth, in all respects; and that all that is contrary be watched against and avoided; as strife, discord, contention, and disputes tending to divisions, may be utterly suppressed and laid aside, as the light and righteous judgment of truth require.

“Oh! that all the churches and congregations of the faithful, would be excited by the Spirit of the dear Son of God, fervently to pray for the prosperity of his church and people throughout the world, that Sion may more and more shine in the beauty of holiness, to the glory and praise of the King of glory.

“The friends and brethren, come up from the several quarterly meetings in this nation, have given a good account to this meeting of truth's prosperity, and that friends are generally in love and unity one with another; and by several epistles, from friends of North Carolina, Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Barbadoes, Holland, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, which have been read in this meeting; as also by verbal accounts given by several friends that have lately *travelled in divers parts of America, and elsewhere, we have received comfortable accounts of the state of truth and friends in those par*

by which we are encouraged to hope truth prevails in many places, and a concern grows upon friends for the prosperity thereof; and that there is an inclination in people to hear the truth declared.

"By the accounts brought up this year, we find that friends sufferings in England and Wales, amount to five thousand two hundred and ninety pounds, and upwards, chiefly for tithes, priests wages, and steeple-house rates; and that notwithstanding there have been four friends discharged the last year, there yet remain twenty friends prisoners on these accounts.

"We advise that a tender care remain upon friends in all places, to be faithful in keeping up our Christian testimony against tithes, as being fully persuaded, it is that whereunto God hath called his people in this our day; we seeing by daily experience, that such as are not faithful therein, do thereby add to the sufferings of honest friends, and hinder their own growth and prosperity in the most blessed truth.

"As touching the education of friends children, for which this meeting hath often found a concern; we think it our duty to recommend unto you, the necessity that there is of a care in preserving of them in plainness of speech and habit, suitable to our holy profession: and

churches of Christ every where, so as a means also, that no opportunity be omitted, nor any endeavour wanting, to instruct them in the principle of truth which we profess ; that thereby they, being sensible of the operation thereof in themselves, may find, not only their spirits softened and tendered, fit to receive the impressions of the Divine Image, but may also from thence find themselves under a necessity to appear clear in the several branches of our Christian testimony. And as this will be most beneficial to them, being the fruits of conviction, so it is the most effectual way of propagating the same throughout the churches of Christ. And there being times and seasons wherein their spirits are (more than at others) disposed to have those things impressed upon them ; so we desire that all parents, and others concerned in the oversight of youth, might wait in the fear of God, to know themselves divinely qualified for that service, that in his wisdom they may make use of every such opportunity, which the Lord shall put into their hands. And we do hereby warn and advise friends in all places to flee every appearance of evil, and keep out of pride, and following the vain fashions and customs of this world, as recommended in the Epistle, 1715.

*“And as we always found it our concern recommend love, concord and unity in*



to effect the same, we earnestly desire that Friends, but more especially such as are concerned in meetings of business, do labour to know their own spirits subjected by the Spirit of Truth; that thereby being baptized into one body, they may be truly one in the foundation of their love and unity and that therein they may all labour to find a nearness to each other in spirit; this being the true way to a thorough reconciliation, wherever there is, or may have been any difference of apprehension: thereby Friends will be preserved in that sweetness of spirit, that is, and will be the bond of true peace, throughout all the churches of Christ.

“And, dear friends, the Friends of this meeting, to whom the inspection of the accounts was referred, made report, that having perused the same, they found the stock to be nearly expended; whereupon this meeting thinks it necessary to recommend unto you, that a general and free contribution be made in every county, and that what shall be thereupon collected, be sent up to the respective correspondents.

“Finally, dear Friends and Brethren, be careful to walk unblameable in love and peace among yourselves, and towards all men in Christian charity, and be humbly thankful to the Lord our most gracious God, for the favour he hath given us in the eyes of the king and civil government, in the peaceable enjoyment of our

religious and Christian liberties under them; and the God of peace (we trust) will be with you to the end.

“The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirits. Amen.

Signed in, and on the behalf, and by the order of this meeting,

“By Benjamin Bealing.”

From this epistle may be judged in some degree of the others, which are sent from the yearly meeting of the people called Quakers, to the particular meetings of their society every where. We see by it, that they give notice of the state of their particular churches, and that they earnestly recommend love and unity among their brethren, with other Christian virtues, and especially a good education of their children, besides other matters which they judge to be meet and necessary. With this epistle here inserted, I will finish this work, as having performed my design and intention, viz. the giving of a plain and circumstantial account and relation of the rise of this religious society, which, as we have seen, sprung from mean beginnings, to a great increase and progress, and extended *itself far, notwithstanding the violent opposition, and most grievous severity, for suppressing and rooting them out, so often put in practice, and*

committed by their enemies, but all in vain. And they now enjoy an undisturbed liberty to perform the public exercise of their worship to God, since their religion is permitted by law; which liberty they in no wise have obtained by making resistance, but by a long suffering patience, a peaceable deportment, and a dutiful fidelity to the government set over them: so that now they see clearly, that God doth not forsake those that do not forsake him, according to what the prophet Azariah formerly said to king Asa, and all Judah and Benjamin, 2 Chron. xv. 2. "The Lord is with you, while ye be with him, and if ye seek him, he will be found of you: but if ye forsake him, he will forsake you." Having thus performed what I intended with this historical relation, I conclude it to the praise and glory of the Most High, who hath afforded me life time and ability, after a long and difficult labour, to bring this history to a suitable end.

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## ADDENDA.

The Author toward the conclusion of this history, having given some account of the principles of the people called Quakers, thought fit, in the Dutch Appendix (among other things,) to add the following treatise in Latin concerning the Light, written about the year 1662. And since in this English translation the subject matters contained in the said Appendix are inserted in the body of the history, in those places to which they properly belong, and no reference being made to this, but as mentioned in the preface, it is thought fit to subjoin it here, with the following words of the Author prefixed to the same.

In the preface of this history, mention is made of a certain book, intituled "The Light upon the Candlestick," published in the name (as many supposed) of William Ames, yet no

ways wrote by him, though it contains his doctrine, but by a certain learned man, unwilling to be known publicly, and as it seems to me wrote originally in Latin; which though printed, being but in few hands, I have thought fit to reprint.

And the original in Latin, soon after the first Publication being translated into English by B. F. was printed in the year 1663, from which translation take it as follows, viz.

*The Light upon the Candlestick.*

THINGS are not for words, but words for things; if therefore we understand things aright and as they ought, by words, it must be by such as are fit to imprint the things themselves in those to whom they should occur, and then images were enough (to make known our thoughts to others as we conceive them) only to make use of such words.

But forasmuch as we find the matter in this case far otherwise, and that two men speaking or writing the same words, may nevertheless have different, yea, contrary thoughts, the disability of performing this fitly by words or discourse, is clearly inferred. Nor may we at all wonder at it, seeing we know to what a perpetual change languages are subject, even such

that the very words may be changed from their pristine signification. And the imperfection is so great, that whosoever should have invented them, such as now they are in use, we should certainly believe that he had little or no knowledge of those things that are thereby intended to be signified. So that if he would better express things unto another by words and speeches, we had need find new words and consequently a whole new language: but that would be a toil and labour indeed.

In the meanwhile we see what a sea of confusion flows from hence upon all mankind: for although there should be none, who sometimes through ignorance, and sometimes by subtlety or wickedness, might wrest or pervert words contrary to the mind of the speaker or writer, in such manner as themselves, that so do, should think best for their own ends, from whence consequently all this deceit, slandering, contention, and the like proceeds; yet so it is, that how uprightly or prudently soever a man goes to work in this matter, he nevertheless finds himself liable to mislead, or to be misled.

But although the case be thus with words and discourses at present in use; yet for all that, they are the most ready, and so far as I know, the fittest means to make known all our thoughts unto others by: and for this reason *therefore though so much confusion and deceit*

happen to arise from hence, that no man that hath any experience can be ignorant thereof: yet may we not therefore be too much afraid of them neither, as many yet do manifest themselves to be, who because they have some experience hereof, are apt to believe we are about to deceive them, especially if they be forewarned thereof.

This as in many things, so it hath chiefly taken place in that which is commonly esteemed for religion; in which it is so with most men, that they will scarce give audience to, much less take into consideration, any thing held forth unto them, by any whom they judge not to be of their own opinion; to avoid as they imagine, being thereby deluded.

Yet if they were to act thus towards their own party, we might think it was an act of prudence, and that they would see with their own eyes: but no, in nowise, this is too hard a task: whatsoever cometh on that side is received with such partiality for good and current coin, as if there were no danger nor possibility of erring: whereas nevertheless, it is all alike with the one as with the other opinion. It all depends but upon a possibility of being nearest to the truth; and for the upholding every one *his own opinion*, and defending it against others, *there is so much ado, so much pains taken, so much scholastic learning, study, and disputing,*

that one would rather believe that there were no true religion at all, than that this should needs be it.

Seeing then it is thus at present, can we much blame the common people, that they despair of ever being able to solve this difficulty, and are glad when they can but find any that are greedy of the work, upon whom they may cast the whole burthen : surely no : for he that sees but a little clearly, sees that there is always contention behind, and no end till a man grows weary of it : nor is the conquest his that hath truth, but his that can best handle his tongue. A miserable thing if it were thus to be sought and found : but it is not so with the true religion.

Go to then, O man, whoever thou art, we will not draw thee off from one society of men, to carry thee over to another ; it is somewhat else we invite thee to. Lend us but a little audience ; surely thou knowest thus much, that as it is an absurdity to receive all things without distinction that present themselves to us, so it is no less so to reject all things without judgment. We invite thee to something which may be a means whereby to attain to thy own salvation and well being. Be as distrustful, or rather prudent, or foresighted as thou wilt, thou canst not in reason refuse us thy ear in this thing. All the damage thou canst possibly have by doing that which we exhort thee to, is



only to have taken a little pains in vain, if that which is promised should not succeed; whereas, on the contrary, if it should succeed, thou mayest come to the enjoyment of a matter of so great worth, that should not be exchanged for all that is esteemed great in the earth. Moreover it is not far to seek, but at hand; it is nigh thee, yea and in thyself, and there thou mayest experience the trial of that which we declare, which is the most certain and sure that can be desired.

We direct thee then to look within thyself; that is, that thou oughtest to turn into, to mind, and have a regard unto, that which is within thee, viz. the light of truth, the true light, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world. Here it is that thou must be, and not without thee. Here thou shalt find a principle certain and infallible, and whereby increasing and going on therein, thou mayest at length arrive unto a happy condition: of this thou mayest safely adventure the trial. But if thou darest not do so much, it is hard to help thee, and if thou happenest to be one of those that wouldest know all things, before thou dost begin, yea, even those things which are experienced in a condition to which thou art so much a stranger, that there is nothing in thee hath so *much* agreement therewith, as to comprehend it according to truth; know this, thou dost (there-

in) just as those that would learn to read, without knowing the letters.

To desire to know all things that we are capable of, is good and laudable: but to go further is folly. There will be always something else to ask, and our knowledge will ever be too short. He that will not adventure till he be fully satisfied, will never begin, much less finish to his own salvation.

But we judge it needful (as much as in us lies) to open unto you that unto which we do exhort you, that people may understand what it properly is.

We say then, that we exhort every one to turn unto the light that is in him. We give it rather the appellation of light, than any thing else, otherwise it is all one to us whether ye call it, Christ, the Spirit, the Word, &c. seeing these all denote but one and the same thing: yet the word Light being in its natural signification somewhat else than that which we intend thereby, we shall therefore in brief endeavour clearly to express what we intend under this denomination.

The Light (then we say) is a clear and distinct knowledge of truth in the understanding of every man, by which he is so convinced of the being and quality of things, that he cannot possibly doubt thereof.

From t his designation which is here given of the light, it is clear, that it must needs comprehend in it the principal effect of shewing us, and giving us the knowledge of what is truth and falsehood, what is good and evil : which verily is a matter of so great concernment, that without it men must needs wander up and down in continual darkness, uncertainty of opinion and in sin, neither knowing truth at all, nor doing any good, but as it were by hap-hazard, and without certainty.

This light then, Christ the truth, &c. is that which makes manifest and reprove sin in man, sheweth him how he is strayed from God, accuseth him of the evil which he doth, and hath committed ; yea, this is it which judgeth and condemneth him. Again,

This is the preaching to every creature under heaven, though they have never read or heard of the scripture. This is it which leads man in truth, into the way to God, which excuseth him in well-doing, giving him peace in his conscience, yea, brings him to union with God, wherein all happiness and salvation do consist.

Moreover, seeing it is properly the nature of this light infallibly to discover sin and evil, to reprove and convince thereof ; it can never possibly consent thereunto. And although it be *true indeed*, that the operations of the light are *not in all men* alike powerful, in whom never-

theless it is ; yea though in some men it seems to have no operation at all ; yet this is occasioned only by those impediments that do hinder it : for as the natural light by the interposition of other bodies or covers, may be hindered from having its operation there, where else it would, were those things which impede removed, the light (itself) still abiding in itself unchanged ; even so it is also with this light whereof we speak. The hinderances in this are manifold. All that we meet with in this world, seems to proclaim war in this case. What is there that hath not a powerful operation upon one or other of the senses of man, through which, passing over into the soul, the memory is so filled, that nothing else can enter. The eyes and ears stand so perpetually open to all things, they that never want an object to bring to mind the experience of that which pleased the body so well ; and this stirs up the desire to enjoy it, yet all without satiety the objects are multifarious, the enjoyment can be but single and transient, and the incitements incessant.

Now where this operateth in us after this manner, by education and example in manners and customs which are regulated by opinion, and not by the true light, that men live altogether therein ; is it any wonder that here (in these men) there is so little, or no operation of the light ? *Not at all.*

We are so involved in the desire of that which is high in the world, so overwhelmed in pleasures, that it is almost impossible for the light to cause one desire after good to spring or bubble up.

Where then these so contrary operations to the light are, there it can never break through.

According to the nature and kind of every thing, is the operation thereof: where they are opposite, the one must give way to the other, and that which is most powerful prevails; from whence also the effects thereof become most visible.

The light, notwithstanding, abides always the same; and therefore although man by sin, through his love and union to corruptible things, comes to perish, be damned, and miss of his everlasting happiness, the light nevertheless which is in every man that comes into the world, abides for ever unchangeable.

The light is also the first principle of religion. For seeing there can be no true religion without the knowledge of God and no knowledge of God, without this light, religion must necessarily have this light for its principle.

God being then known by this light, according to the measure of knowledge which the finite and circumscribed creature can have.

Finite and uncircumscribable creator, v  
firm foundation, upon  
and lasting thi

principle whereby he may, without ever erring guide the whole course of his life, how he is to carry himself towards God, his neighbour, and himself, and all things else, whereby he may happily attain unto his soul's salvation, which consisteth only in union with God. And thus this light is therefore the first principle of religion.

Without this light, there is no power or ability at all in man to do any good.

This must first raise him and quicken him out of the death of sin. It is folly to expect, any thing, where nothing is ; there is no effect without a cause : there must be something then which must cause a man to act, if he does any thing.

And this cause must have in it whatsoever the effect produced hath in it : as for example, if the effects of light be produced, light must do it, and nothing else.

And therefore, is it not a silly thing, that all men would have people do this or that as good, and leave this or that as evil, because they tell them so, without any more ado, or at best assigning only the accustomed motives thereto, and think they have reason too, just as if this were enough ? Who can see such effects as *are hereby required, included in this cause ? not I, for my part.*

*Experience also teacheth us the same ; else*

how could it all pass away in a train and custom, without any fruit; these are therefore not the right means; but such we must endeavour to furnish people with; means from whence power may issue to do that which they are exhorted to. Such is the nature of man, that he is moved to choose that which he judgeth to be best, before the worst, and is always willing to change for the best.

Now if it so happens (as for the most part it doth) that a man chooseth the worst before the best, it is for want of knowledge, and contrary to his aim, and so he erreth, not being led by the true light.

Here then it should be begun; it is easy leading a man to that which of himself he is desirous of; if those now who make it their work to teach others, were but led themselves by the true light, knowing better things than those to which the multitude are linked so fast with love, they would be able to hold them forth clearly to others; and so making it their continual work, it were impossible their labour should be fruitless; for people knowing better, would do better. Who remembers not the play *of our youth*, how much we were in love *there-with*, and yet how ridiculous is it now unto us *but to think upon it*? And why? Because we *now know* that, which we judge better: hence, *not by force*, but very easily and of itself, i

comes in time to be worn out, and pass away, that there is now no desire or motion moving thereunto. How may we think then it would be, if the soul came but once to apprehend those things aright which are durable and incorruptible, and which infinitely transcended all bodily toys in worth? So far as those things then should come to be esteemed more glorious than all bodily things, so much the more powerful would be the annihilation of those things in which all men, even to old age, yea, death itself, do take so much delight; and then we might hope and expect that those things which are (indeed) alone worthy to be known would gain entrance, and being brought forth in the light, would be also owned and received by every one, according to the measure in which they should stand in the same light.

Hence from within, the amendment and conversion is to be waited for; from within it must begin, if with a foundation; the outward then will follow of itself: the weakest must give way to the strongest, all depends but upon the knowledge of something better, to make a true and lasting change. Therefore to hold this forth to men, is the best thing we can give them. This light is the inward ear, by which alone, *and by no other*, the voice of God, viz. the *truth*, can be heard.

*By this alone must the sense and mind of him*



which God is known, that he must needs have been the author of it; there cannot rationally any more powerful demonstration be demanded. With them that are thus, the Scripture may become living and powerful, and not a dead letter, as it must needs be to those men who have no feeling of this thing. And from hence then it is apparent, seeing this light must be preferred to all things whatsoever that we meet with from without, that then Man must first of all be directed to this; for without it what profit is there (I pray) to be reaped any where by any external sign but by it. Lay the book of the Scripture freely before any man, let him also have all the fitness (the universities can give him) to look into it in its proper language in which it may have been first written, what will all be without the light? Nothing. The letters, the words, are not the Scriptures, but the meaning alone is the Scripture, and this meaning can never be truly and justly hit, but by those alone that stand in the same light, out of which the Scriptures proceeded.

These are they then to whom the Scripture is a co-witness, and as a seal of their being sons of God; while by experience they find themselves, every one according to his measure, in the same condition in which the saints formerly were, who spake and writ all those things comprehended in the book of the Scripture:

these then have the true understanding and meaning of the Scriptures, not those that imagine unto themselves a meaning by opinion and guess, through a thousand imaginations, without the least assurance of not erring; which becomes the very ground of all jangling and contention.

In fine, this light, in every man is the means to come to the knowledge of God. And seeing all external signs must needs pre-suppose this knowledge, therefore itself must need be immediate, without any external sign: that signs must pre-suppose such a knowledge, is undeniable; for these signs must either be words or effects, works or miracles.

. If words, we see at first an impossibility in the thing itself: for words are created and finite, and God who should make known himself by them, uncreated and infinite: and therefore here is so infinite a difference, that there is no manner of agreement, nor any thing in the words by which they might be capable to do it. But again, if you fly to the meaning of the words, as being fit for such a thing, then that which we say will more manifestly appear: as put the case, for example-sake, that God about to make known himself by words, should say,

*"I am God,"* and that this should be the sign by which he would make himself known, we see clearly, that it would be impossible for man at first to know God by this: for if

should comprehend any thing out of the sense of the words, he must needs formerly have had the signification of the word, God, and what he is to understand by it: in like manner, if God maketh his will known to man, the knowledge of God (which hath its original from the true light) must precede and convince him, that that (manifestation) can be from none but God alone, whereupon he is then sufficiently assured.

If by effects, (or outward miraculous works) it is the same thing; for these are no less created, no less finite: and though we might observe something in the nature of a thing, which might be too difficult for the power of any creature, which we know, to effect; yet this at the utmost would be but a demonstration taken from our impotency, and not from the nature and all the operations of it; and this kind of demonstration cannot be certain and stable, till we were able clearly and distinctly to see that there was not a concurrence of many causes to produce such an effect, but that it must needs have been caused by an infinite and unlimited cause, whom we call God? But who knoweth this? Or who can declare it?

Add to this, That the knowledge of God in *all things* must first be, before the knowledge of any creature or particular thing: so that *no particular thing* without this can be well

known; and consequently is altogether incapable to come to know God by, or certainly to make known himself to man by.

Go to then, without thyself, O man; thou hast no means to look for, by which thou mayest know God. Thou must abide within thyself, to the light that is in thee thou must turn thee, there thou wilt find it and no where else.

God is, considered in himself, nearest unto thee, and everyman. He that goes forth of himself to any creature, thereby to know God, departs from God, and so much the further, as he comes more to admire the creature, and stand in contemplation thereof, to mistake himself by it. This thou must then shun, and the contrary, mind, viz. Mind the light that is in thee, by it to work, unmoveably and faithfully to persevere.

FINIS.



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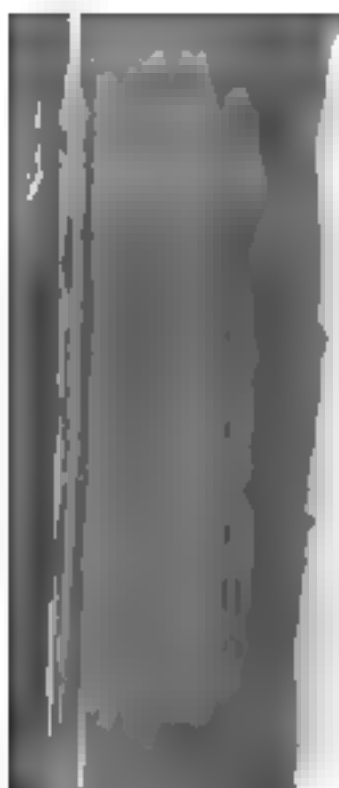
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